The Beaver

SUMMER 1978

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The Beaver

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COVER: 'Our Clothing of Yesterday' print by Ida Karpik/Thomasie Alikatuktuk. From the 1978 collection of Pangnirtung prints.

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Signing of the Hudson's Bay Company Charter by King Charles II on 2 May 1670.

BY E. E. RICH

Professor Rich, now retired Master of St Catharine's College, Cambridge, was editor of the Hudson's Bay Record Society for 21 years, and is author of, among other books on the fur trade, 'The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870'.

The Colony of Rupert's Land

THERE IS MUCH in the great Charter of 2 May 1670 which rouses admiration and astonishment. It granted 'truly imperial powers', it was the 'conveyance of an opportunity of limitless value', it was 'one of the most celebrated instruments which ever passed from monarch to subject and which, though almost incessantly in dispute, was perpetuated in full force for almost two centuries'. The appraisal of historians varies little except in the choice of phrase; and for the most part it is the outcome of hindsight, of looking at the charter through the eyes of 1970, not of 1670.

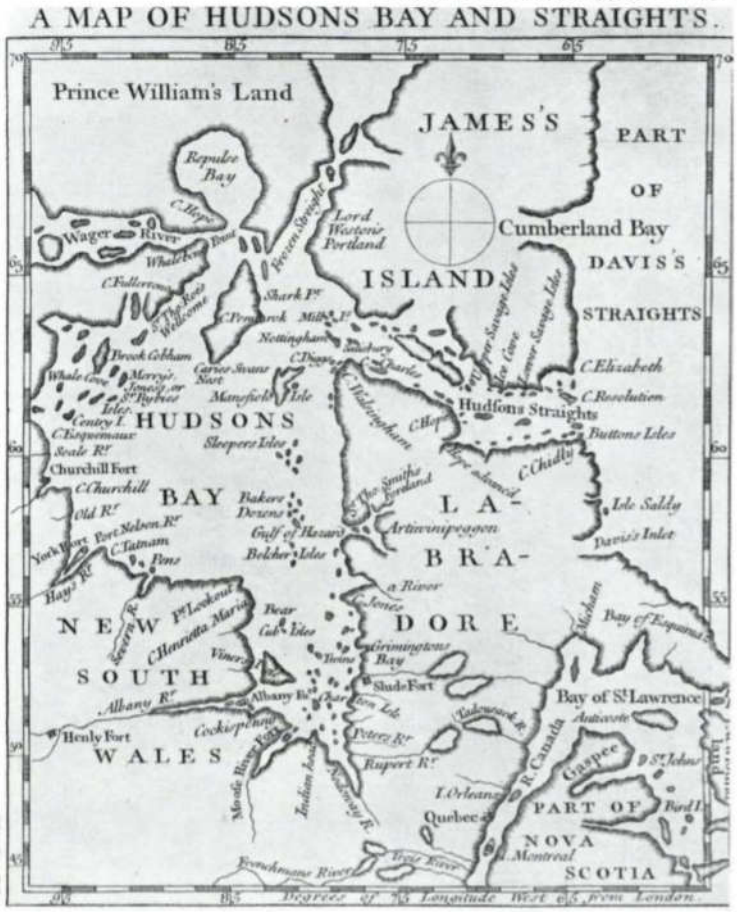
From the standpoint of 1670 the charter was a quite normal, understandable and predictable instrument; nowhere more so than in the clauses which envisaged the establishment of a colony of settlement in conditions which later knowledge has shown to be prohibitive, or almost so. For in 1670 little or nothing was known of the geographical factors involved, the establishment of 'plantations' by entrepreneurs who hoped to cover costs by a monopoly of trade was a commonplace, and grants of quasi-sovereignty to well-placed groups of courtiers and financiers were a feature of the period, not only in England but throughout Western Europe. The great East India Companies: Dutch, French or English, are probably the best known examples, but there were scores of such ventures: for the Antilles, for Bermuda, Senegal, the West Indies, Cape Verde or Guinea. The Virginia Company of London is as good an example as any, for of it the best summary is that 'From 1607 until 1624 the colony of Virginia was a business enterprise. The Virginia Company ranks as a colonizing venture in view of the outcome. But it was operated by stock holders for profit.' The London Company not only made the rules, appointed the officials and recruited the settlers, but controlled all transport and access and monopolized such trade as could be achieved.

The men who formed such companies were seldom philanthropists; they speculated their money, and they hoped for a return on their speculation. Control over any trade was a constant feature of such colonizing companies; and since the outcome could only vaguely be envisaged they sought the widest possible privileges in their grants and charters.

Assessed in the light of such generalizations, the Hudson's Bay Company's charter loses much of its uniqueness. It stands out chiefly by the active support of members of the Royal family (Rupert and later James, and the loan of royal ships), and by its durability. It was achieved by a group of eighteen well-placed men headed by Rupert — although in fact his secretary, James Hayes, was the moving spirit. Some were courtiers, some business men; none had invested heavily in the pioneer pre-charter voyage of the *Nonsuch* (no one more than £200) and all were interested in the trading possibilities. During the absence of the *Nonsuch*, from August 1668 to October 1669, the trading possibilities had been much under discussion; indeed it appears from a contemporary news-sheet that a grant of 'the sole trade of what Countryes they shall discover' had been a feature of an abortive voyage of discovery in the previous year, 1667. Certainly a grant of the sole trade of the northern parts of America was given to a group of six of the more obviously business-oriented backers of the *Nonsuch* in June 1669, when the ship had been out of contact for almost a year but when negotiations for the definitive charter were working towards the full charter achieved in May 1670.

Trade, in short, figured largely in the incentives for the *Nonsuch* voyage, and the charter incorporated the Company 'by the name of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England *tradeing* into Hudsons Bay'. As knowledge of the geography and climate of the region increased, as the 'Trade for Furrs Mineralls and other considerable Commodityes' prospered (at least as far as furs were concerned), trading dominated the Company. But trade was not the only incentive of the supporters, nor the only consideration in the charter. Six of the eighteen 'Adventurers' had underwritten the planting of the colony of Carolina, and others had been involved in ventures which were clearly aimed at establishing colonies. John Kirke, for example, was of the family of Kirkes who had set up the Canada Company which had captured Quebec and, in 1627, had brought Governor Champlain to England as a prisoner; the first woman stockholder, Lady Margaret Drax, was the wife of Sir James Drax, of London and Barbados — and she bought her stock as early as June 1670. It was normal, almost compulsory, for a grant of overseas trade to be linked to a project for settlement and because the interests of the proprietors emphasized that connection, the Company's charter set out the terms for the establishment of a colony. Indeed, in a sense the establishment of a colony was to control the implementation of the grant of trade; for the territory within which the grant of trade was to be operative was to 'bee from henceforth reckoned and reputed as one of our Plantacions or Colonyes in America called Rupert's Land'. Over this land (which ultimately proved to include about half of the total area of what

An eighteenth-century copperplate map.



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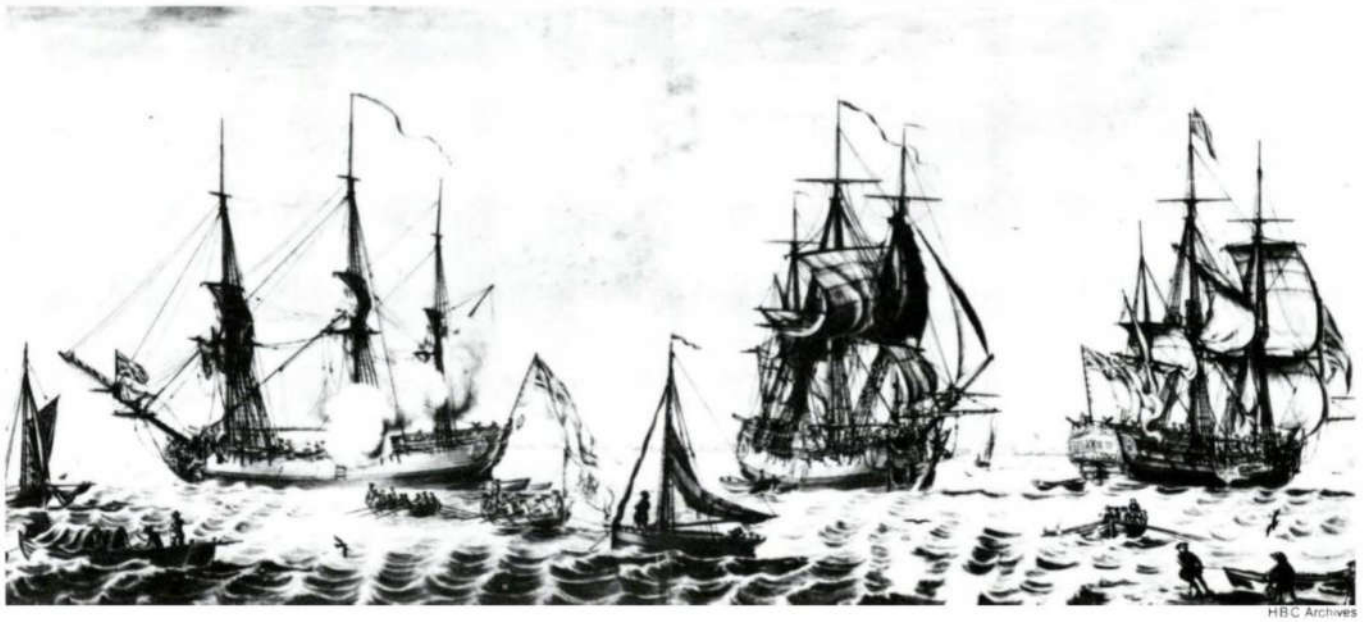
was to become the Dominion of Canada) the Governor and Committee of the Company were given 'Truly imperial powers'. Saving the faith, allegiance and sovereign dominion, due to the Crown, they were to be 'Absolute Lordes and Proprietors', with power to make 'Lawes Constitutions Orders and Ordinances' for their 'Colonyes Fortes and Plantacions'. They were given power to enforce their laws, all the 'Landes Islandes Territoryes Plantacions Fortes Factoryes or Colonyes' being under their 'power and command'. They could set up a full administrative machine, with governors, judges and other officials, enforcing their authority by examinations under oath and punishing by fines, imprisonment and expulsion.

It was even made possible for the Governor and Committee themselves to take up residence in the projected colony and to run the Company from there (a move which for centuries seemed most unlikely but which has at last taken place). They might, if they wished, meet 'in any place or places for the same convenient within our Dominions or elsewhere' and there make laws, constitutions, ordinances and orders, for 'all Governors of Colonyes Fortes and Plantacions'.

Analysis of the charter and of the concepts and careers of those involved in 1670 would, then, seem to make it clear that it was a company as much involved in colonization as in trade. The colonizing aspects were quickly and thoroughly submerged beneath the trading aspects — so thoroughly that settlement of immigrants was not under serious consideration for a century and a half, and then under the personal direction of Lord Selkirk, with the Company standing

For many decades after the departure of Mrs Sergeant and Mrs Maurice from the Bay, the Company's fleet sailed from Gravesend without wives and children. This wash drawing by John Hood illustrates the departure of the fleet in 1769.



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on one side, full of misgivings. This was natural enough. With Bermuda, Antigua, Barbados, Maryland and Carolina beckoning, what had the Bottom of the Bay to offer? Even the settled population of Newfoundland failed to achieve the status of a colony, was refused the appointment of a governor in 1675 and, in view of the rigours of the climate and the infertility of the soil, was then told by the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations 'That all Plantations and inhabiting in that Country' must be discouraged.

The colony of Rupert's Land seemed most unlikely ever to emerge; and for good reasons. But it was not entirely forgotten or neglected; and since most of the Company's affairs only reached the public either as querulous complaints or as vague rumours it is not surprising that such colonizing activity as followed the charter attracted little attention. But there were exceptions, none more remarkable than the references to the colony by Daniel Defoe. *Defoe is the great source of information for the everyday life of England in the reign of Queen Anne (as the great historian of that period, G.M. Trevelyan, emphasized). Travelling round the country, a realist with an observant eye for detail, and a reporter devoted to exact information, he stands at the centre of any description of his England. But Defoe was also a pamphleteer, urging the expansion of England's trade and its regulation within an imperial framework; and though he made praiseworthy efforts to seek out firsthand evidence when he wrote about overseas matters he could not then rely on his own shrewd insight. He could at times be misled; and he could be misleading.

Writing in the aftermath of the Treaty of Utrecht and the agreement that the French should restore the Bay and Straits of Hudson's Bay and should settle the boundary with Canada along the line of the watershed, Defoe painted a brief and idyllic picture of the position of the Company up to 1686, when an overland expedition from Canada, led by de Troyes and d'Iberville, 'surpriz'd them and destroyed the Colony'. He said that he had spoken with 'Captain Sergeant' who commanded at that time, and he described how the English — living safely in their forts and 'having about them none but an unarmed people who were always courteous, inoffensive and innocent' and, being well-used, harboured no ill thoughts towards the English — were quite unprepared to stand up to attack

Author Daniel Defoe who interviewed Governor Sergeant and reported to the public on the fate of the Company's colony.

by European troops. Sergeant therefore surrendered and, says Defoe, the French 'destroy'd the Colony'.

In line with this account, Defoe narrates that in the days of their great prosperity before 'the first War' (which would be the War of the League of Augsburg, or King William's War, 1688-97) the Company 'entertain'd high thoughts upon the Importance of their Colony, and the Improvements they were able to make, by planting and settling Numbers of People upon the several Rivers both on the East and West side of the Bay'. Before 'the first War' very little was known or understood about the hinterland of the Bay. As early as 1682 Governor John Nixon had recommended that men should be sent 'up into the country' with presents for Indians. But although a fort on 'the rivers that goe doun to Kennedy' might be possible, that would be for the purpose of preventing French traders, not for settlement. The object of Nixon's proposal was to 'drawe doun a trade' to the Bayside English posts. In any case, nothing was done about the suggestion before the war broke out. Kelsey's pioneer voyage to the prairies was not made until the middle of the war, in 1691-92, and even then scanty attention was paid to his narrative, which disappeared from sight until it was abstracted, to be used against the Company in the disputes of 1749. Nevertheless, Defoe wrote that he had spoken not only with Sergeant but with 'several of their Governors' and

*I am indebted to Professor J.R. Moore, of Indiana University, for calling my attention to this particular passage in Defoe's *Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis*. The work was first identified as Defoe's by Professor Moore in a paper read to the Bibliographical Society in London on 18 October 1955. That paper was published by *The Library* in September 1956. From internal evidence Professor Moore would judge the date of writing to be 1722 rather than the published date of 1728.

HBC Collection

Governor Henry Sergeant with his family, his minister, Chaplain John French, his maid servant, and his three men servants were the nucleus of the Company's colony on the Bay. From a painting by Will Davies.

that he had been 'assur'd by all hands, that the Country, especially a little distance from the Seas, was not only habitable, and the Soil fruitful, but that the Weather was much milder than just upon the Shore, where the Cold . . . was insufferable'.

This all fitted in with Defoe's statement that 'The old Hudson's Bay Company', being revived after Utrecht, had replanted its 'colony', re-established its trade, and planned to send over men 'to extend the Colony, and plant farther within the Country upon some Rivers to the West and to the South'. To Defoe this all seemed very sensible, for to him it was 'apparent that a good flourishing Settlement might be made there, notwithstanding the long Winters and the severe Cold: Nor would the situation of the Place contradict this, seeing the Country I speak of is nowhere farther North then the Latitude of 52, and the Colonies might extend South to the Latitude of 50, which is more Southerly than London'. It was all of a piece with Defoe's conviction that it was greatly to the interest of Britain to encourage the northern colonies since this 'must lay a Fund of Commerce; the People always wanting our Goods, and always being furnish'd with Goods to pay for them'. A good enough exercise in the dialectics of imperial trade, even though the arguments were exactly opposed to the reasons which had led the Lords of Trade to decide on the abandonment of colonization in Newfoundland.

Defoe, however, puts his case not as a theoretical economic argument but as a statement of fact. The Company, he says, had by 1722 'replanted' its colony and had resolved to extend it. 'Hudson's Bay is now again an English Colony' is a statement not only of the situation as at 1722 but also of the previous status, in 1686. Defoe was not a man who would knowingly state untruths, and there must have been some backing for such statements. But the actual history of the Company lends no support whatever to any assertion that colonization, or anything which could be called settlement as distinct from the establishment of trading posts, was even under discussion in 1722. This was a period which came to be derided as a 'Sleep by the Frozen Sea'; a period of comfortable profits from the fur trade, of endless disputes over the boundary with Canada, of financial stability despite a narrow escape from disaster during the South Sea Bubble.

The Bay-side background to the London scene was one of reoccupation of York Fort, re-establishment of Moose and the Bottom of the Bay, attempts to develop trade from Albany to the Eastmain, establishment of trade at Churchill and very occasional missions of chosen men going inland to counter the Canadian wood-runners. In minutes, letters or instructions, no mention can be found of any thought of 'planting' or making a settlement. Indeed, a generation later, when the Company was under scrutiny before the Parliamentary Committee of 1749, planting and settlement were still not serious issues, not even in the minds of those who challenged the Company. One man, it is true, held that 'Settlements must be made'. Robert Griffin, a silversmith who had served five years at Albany, said 'that if he had a Grant of One hundred Acres of Land, and Liberty to trade, he would settle there with all his Heart'. The others, one after the other, repeated the view of Joseph Robson, the stone-mason who coined the 'Sleep by the Frozen Sea' phrase. When he was asked 'If the Company would grant lands to private Persons, it would not be sufficient Encouragement? he said, that Lands so far to the Northward would not do' and 'Being asked if any Person could maintain himself and a Family at the Bottom of the Bay, by Cultivation of Lands, or any Trade whatever, except the Fur Trade? he said, Not at first.'

It is probable (though not certain) that the explanation of the difference between the facts of the situation and the account given by Defoe lies in political circumstances. In the post-Utrecht period, government was greatly concerned with the expansion of England's trade, and with maintaining strategic posts which would control and protect colonial trade. It was a policy which had been very largely adopted during the prolonged negotiations which led up to the Treaty of Utrecht, and it was a policy which the Hudson's Bay Governor and Committee acclaimed as they sought support from government in their endless attempts to agree their boundary with Canada and to secure payment for the damages which they had suffered from the French. It would be very surprising indeed if Governor Sir Bibye Lake and the 'smug ancient gentlemen' who composed his Committee had not taken care that it was common knowledge in the City that the Company had accepted a colonizing role.

This must be no more than supposition. What is clear is that nothing which could be called settlement was in mind.

Although post-Utrecht settlement talk does not stand up to scrutiny something perhaps can be said for Defoe's other contention, that it was a colony which had been destroyed by the French in 1782. The 'Captain Sergeant' with whom Defoe had talked was Henry Sergeant, who had been formally appointed Governor and Chief Commander of all the Company's territories, in succession to John Nixon, in April, 1683. Known to the Committee as 'a very worthy and well quallified gentleman', he had been under consideration for some months, was reported to be interested in the stock of the Company (though he does not appear to have bought any) and had put up a bond for £5,000, which was about equal to the income from the Company's annual sales at that time. His instructions, as he sailed, were that he was to make Chichewan River (to be renamed Albany 'in honour of his Royall Highness our present Governour') his chief residence and place for trade but that Charlton Island was to be the landfall for shipping. There he was to meet the ships every spring and he was always to keep some hands in residence there, was to maintain a fort and a warehouse, and was to keep the men busy between ship-times in cultivating the land, fishing and making oil or potash, 'we intending as soone as may be to plant a Colloney there'.

Whatever may have gone on behind the scenes or in private conversations, this half-sentence in Sergeant's instructions is the only explicit mention which would justify Defoe's statement that the Company 'entertain'd high Thoughts upon the Importance of their Colony, and the Improvements they were able to make, by planting and settling numbers of people'. It certainly vindicates the claim that the intention had been discussed and formally accepted in 1682-83.

The outcome also lends some sort of support, though of negligible weight. Sergeant was a married man, and his wife and young son accompanied him to the Bay, as did his wife's companion, Mrs Maurice, and a chaplain, the Reverend John French, M. A. Sergeant's 'parcell of women' and his chaplain might well have been the beginnings of colonization. But probability is against it, even if the French had not intervened. In the event the family seems to have settled into the life by the Bay with ineffective docility, making no mark and bringing no change in outlook. If they had brought new ideas, more would surely have been heard of them; the fact is that nothing is on record about them previous to the arrival of the French except that Mrs Maurice had been called home in 1685 since her father needed her. She was a passenger on the *Success*, which was wrecked in December 1685 (very late in the year to attempt a voyage through Hudson's Straits) on the north-west coast of the Bay, and she spent winter 1685-86 at Charles Fort, Rupert River. There the French found her, wounded in the capture of the fort, and they took her to Albany, where she recovered and rejoined Sergeant's party. She was one of the first two Englishwomen to live by the Bay; and the account of three years in her life is tantalizingly meagre.

Of the other pioneer, Mrs Sergeant, as little is known. Whether she found, or made, conditions which would have had any bearing on decisions as to

the practicability of colonizing on a family basis, goodness knows. It is, however, significant that in April 1684 Elinor Verner, wife of Hugh Verner (an experienced trader who was appointed Chief at Rupert River in 1683) applied for permission to join her husband. The Committee agreed, on condition that Hugh paid her passage out and home and paid £12 a year 'for her Diett'. But then, a fortnight later 'upon divers good Considerations' the permit was revoked and the Committee decided that neither Mrs Verner nor any other woman should be allowed to go to the Bay that year. It was not a permanent veto — but it had the same effect.

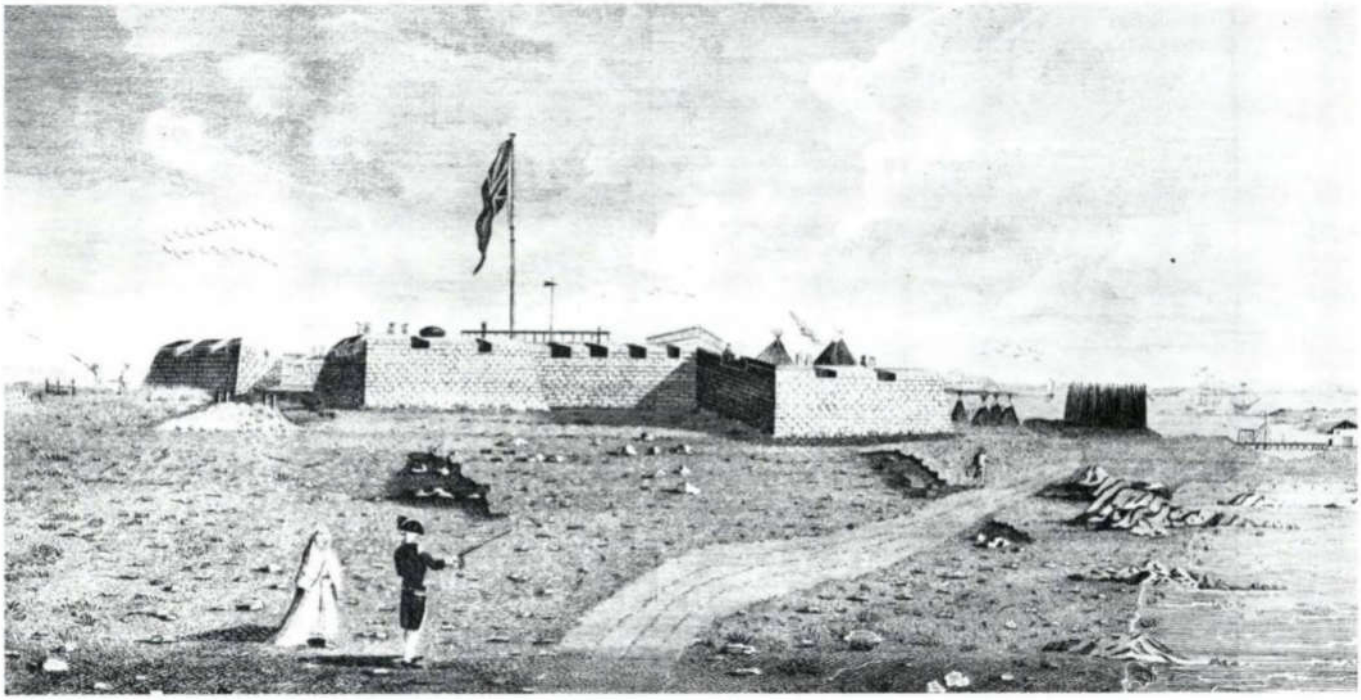
In the meantime Mrs Sergeant and her son, and Chaplain John French, certainly survived those years of life in the Bay and were all in Albany when the French arrived in July 1686. Despite instructions to make Albany their residence on arrival, Sergeant and his family had spent the winter 1683-84 at Moose. Under pressure from the Committee, they then moved to the newly-constructed post of Albany, built on the south bank of the river. There Sergeant made his residence in 1684, and there, presumably, Mrs Sergeant and Mrs Maurice did their best to maintain English domestic standards.

Mrs Maurice was, of course, already a wounded prisoner when de Troyes and d'Iberville arrived at Albany at the end of July 1686. They had taken Moose and Rupert River, and they had the cannon from Fort Charles, Rupert River, aboard the captured *Craven* to be used as a siege train. It was certainly a domestic scene which they interrupted — strangely so, for although the French attacked in time of peace and Sergeant had been so unsuspecting that he had guided them up to the anchorage by firing guns of welcome, he had received a demand for surrender and had been subjected to musket-fire as the heavy cannon were got into place. The cannon got to work on the evening of 15 July, at a time when Sergeant was at supper with his family. One shot passed under the arm of a servant who was pouring wine; another passed in front of Mrs Sergeant's face and she fainted. Who shall blame her? Her husband, anxious to justify his conduct, does not mention the incident, merely reporting that 'at Eight that Evening before the Watch was Sett they Discharged Five Guns at us which Wee returned with Three Setting a strict watch'. But the French account is circumstantial. The picture is rounded out when the chaplain is sent to discuss preliminaries to surrender in pompous platitudes and when Sergeant himself maintains the full etiquette of discussion, sending for wine and glasses; the French meanwhile were only anxious to get the business over before the English noticed how famished their men were.

The Company found Sergeant's conduct difficult to accept (though they ultimately did so and paid him in full, since he alleged that some of his men were not to be trusted to stand to their arms); his men reported that 'There is severall Remarkeable faileings in Governor Sergeant which is too tedious here to insert but we are Willing when Demanded to Declare'. There the matter rested, for the English had suffered severely before their return to England; and though the Company was advised that if it could be proved that Sergeant had lost his fort either by neglect or cowardice he could not claim his salary, and he was arrested in an action for £20,000 for 'Looseing the Bottome of the Bay', the charge was hard to prove. In the end, when arbitrators had failed to reach an agreement, he was paid his demands.

Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville who, with de Troyes, came overland, surprised Sergeant and 'destroy'd the Colony'.

Sergeant admitted that his concern had been to get 'Articles which if performed had been tollerable for the Companyes Servants although I could gett none for the advantage of the Company'. It was agreed that the servants should keep their personal wearing apparel; but that was the only concession which they got. Sergeant himself was to keep all his personal property, and his three men servants, his minister and his maid servant would be permitted to remain with him and to attend on him. Presumably the maid servant was Mrs Maurice, restored to the Sergeant household when the French got to Albany and now cured of her wound; otherwise there would seem to have been yet a third woman involved, and there is no other mention of such a person. The English were all to be taken to Charlton Island, there to await the arrival of a ship from England. The French would (though this was not stated) seize the cargo to see them through the winter,



Sergeant and his 'parcell of women' spent the winter of 1686-87 at York. Following the French attack supplies were scarce and twenty Company men died — 'frozen and Starved.' From a drawing by Samuel Hearne published in 1797.

and put the English aboard and send them back to England, provisioning them for the voyage and feeding them in the meantime. If no ship should arrive the French were to 'assist them with what Vessells the Country affords for their Conveyance into England'.

Whether Sergeant's concern was for his men (who got little enough) or for his wife and family must be an open question; and the question, and the answer, must have been obvious to the Committee. For it was reported that he had told his men that if the French should come to the Bay 'every man must provide for himselfe, and that hee would doe well enough for himselfe and family'. He never pretended that he had been able to safeguard the Company's interests in the terms of surrender, and the Committee must have been left with a conviction that the interests of the Company would be neglected when personal considerations were involved. Colonization and domesticity would be at a discount as the story of 1686 unfolded.

But Sergeant's solicitude did little good either to his men or to his family. As de Troyes set off overland for Quebec and left d'Iberville in charge the expectation was that the English would be out of the way before winter. But the Company's ship *Happy Return* was 'bulged with a large peace of ice' in July 1686, so that no ship for the voyage to England and no supplies for the winter reached Charlton Island. With only forty men to guard fifty-two English, few resources and no shipping, d'Iberville took his own means to get the English off his hands. He put Sergeant and some thirty of them aboard the *Colleton* yacht, which had foundered in Rupert River and which the French had managed to refloat and to repair, and he sent them to be fed through the winter at the posts which still remained in English hands. The French, d'Iberville foresaw, would have enough to do to feed themselves.

The posts which had not been taken by the French were at Nelson River and at Severn River. Neither was in a position to welcome the refugees; both were newly-established and precarious. In Nelson River the post which was just coming to be called York Fort had at last been set up in 1684, after a succession of inroads from Boston New Englanders, French from Canada, and even Radisson himself. The small outpost at Severn River, sometimes called Fort Churchill, sometimes New Severn, had been delayed by the troubles in Nelson River (for it was to be an outpost from there), but had been 'well setled' in response to urgent pressure from the Committee in 1685. The key to both posts lay in Nelson River, and in 1686, even before they knew that the Bottom of the Bay had fallen to the French, the Governor and Committee hoped that Nelson River would prove to be 'the best flower in our garden if well looked after and cultivated'.

But troubles lay all around York Fort in 1686, although the *Abraham and Robert* had arrived with supplies and instructions in the summer. The founder-Governor, John Abraham, was dismissed from his command for not driving out his opponents in 1684; 'your permitting their quiet trading in our Rivers so long without any molestation is a thing we cannt well digest', wrote the Governor and Committee. His

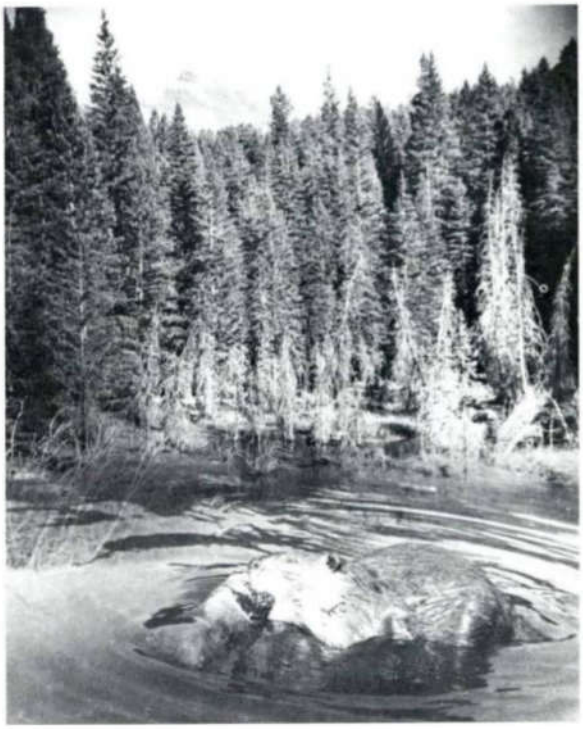
appointed successor, Thomas Phipps, seemed not to appreciate the honour conferred on him, and he made difficulties over the salary proposed. The Committee could not be sure that he would make his way to York, let alone accept the appointment. In the event both Abraham and Phipps returned to England, leaving George Geyer to take command. But that was no easy solution, for 'the trading parte at Porte Nellson' was to be entirely under the control of Radisson.

The scene was set for a troublesome winter long before Sergeant and his party arrived from Charlton Island. Though the *Abraham and Robert* had brought supplies and had taken away some of the men it was quickly evident that York Fort could not house the whole number and some were sent to winter at New Severn — how many is not stated, but the little outpost, to which only six men had been assigned, cannot have taken many, nor offered them much comfort. At York itself the overcrowding and the pressure on provisions was made worse when the crew of the mis-named *Happy Return*, whose non-arrival at Charlton Island had caused the whole crisis, made their way there, to claim a share of whatever was to be had. Problems of personality and of precedence also rose. Sergeant did not yet know that the Committee had decided to recall him in 1686. The order to hand over his command had been lost on the *Happy Return* and he would have considered himself as still Governor and Chief Commander of all the Company's territories as he settled down alongside the newly-appointed Geyer to share the limited amenities of the post, and to ensure good treatment for his family. This was to be a winter, 1686-87, of which the Company soberly reported to the government that twenty of their men had died, 'frozen and Starved, and some faine to be Eaten up by the rest of the Company'. It was not a winter in which the father of a family, the head of a household, could be expected to hold back or to refrain from using any authority he could muster. Sergeant was later accused of raising 'what mutiny and disturbance' he could before he shipped for home in 1687. He must have been a disruptive influence and it is all too likely that he challenged Geyer's authority on occasions; another bad mark for family life by the Bay as the Committee decided on future policy!

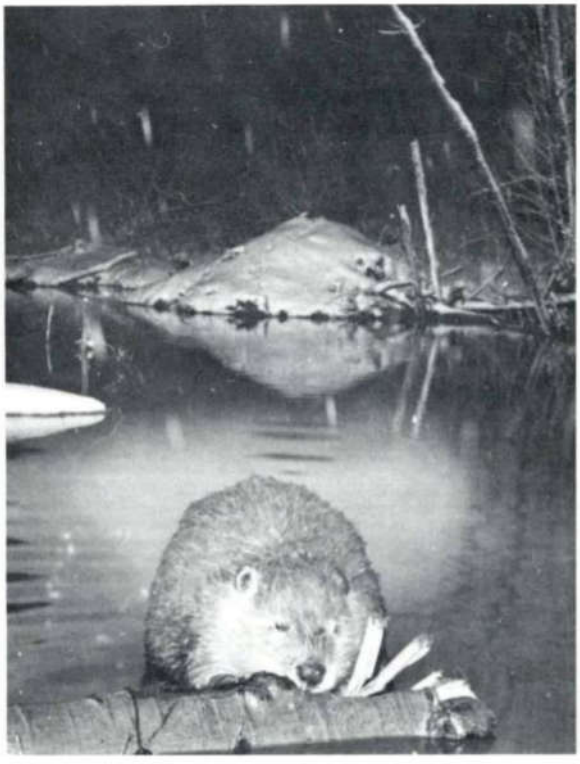
That twenty should die out of the thirty people who had gone to York Fort in the *Colleton* may seem incredible. But the statement was an authoritative one, made to the King; and it specifically relates to those put aboard the *Colleton* 'with Scanty provisions to venture to gett to Port Nelson or Perish at Sea'. There was another party of twenty-one men for whom there was no room aboard the *Colleton*. They were left on Charlton Island but decided that they must cast themselves on 'the Mercy and Goodnesse of the French' at Moose. They cobbled up some sort of craft from the wreckage of the *Success* and set off in mid-September, were wrecked on the way and arrived overland, to meet a very cold reception from d'Iberville. He could give no food though he provided guns and nets and persuaded some Indians to take a dozen of the English to live and hunt with them. The remaining ten men remained about the post, appealing to the French from time to time once the goose hunt was over but finding themselves refused even 'to enjoy the Warme house for a nights Tyme, which would have mightily refreshed our fatigated Spiritts'. Somehow they survived on a diet of old breeches, dogs, leather, fish bones and guts left by the Indians or anything they could get 'to Supply our Insatiable hunger and when Complaint was made to the French Comander his answere was, if wee Could not gett to keepe us alive wee must bury one another'. Eventually they were sent by canoe to Canada, arriving in September 1687, the first Englishmen to cross overland from the Bay to the St Lawrence. Their troubles were not yet over. They were still kept prisoners, and in October were shipped off to France, arriving at La Rochelle in December. There they managed to get passage back to England.

At least four of those who had set out for Moose in September 1686 never reached La Rochelle. For the rest, the year's ordeal reveals an extraordinary power of survival. Their sufferings were such that it is not easy to read their simple narrative as a record of actual experience. But their testimony was not only that of the first English to have crossed the Height of Land, it was also the testimony of the first English to have survived a winter without the protection of a prepared post, with its firing, stores, and provisions from England. If any members of the Committee wondered whether settlement of a plantation type, outside the limitations of a factory, was possible in the Rupert's Land as they then knew it, the narratives of the winter 1686-87 must have been decisive. Survival might perhaps be achieved, but it would require exceptional powers of endurance, it would involve immense hardships, would prejudice the business interests of the Company and, even within the boundaries of York Fort, it might be subject to suspicion of cannibalism.

In the light of the experience of Henry Sergeant and his 'parcell of women' there should be no surprise that nothing supports Defoe's claim that the Company had established a colony before 1686 and that it was determined to replant it and expand it after 1713. The pity is that Defoe, instead of talking with Sergeant and writing his own theories of imperial trade into Sergeant's garbled reminiscences, did not meet and talk with Mrs Maurice. If the talents which were lavished on the creation of Moll Flanders had only been spent on the genuine narrative of this woman, three years in the Bay and wounded in action in the most bizarre circumstances, with a shipwreck thrown in, how much richer and more realistic would be our insight into life at the Bottom of the Bay. ◆



A poplar log for winter use.



A night-time meal.

On Photographing the Beaver

By Redvers Cavendish

Photographer Redvers Cavendish, now deceased, contributed nature features to numerous national magazines in both Canada and the United States.

WHEN WE FIRST CAME to Canmore, Alberta, I spent some time searching for a spot where I could photograph beavers. It was not an easy task, for I planned to approach the animals in the darkness of night and move in close to where they were working.

One morning when I was looking out of the kitchen window a beaver came into the yard. He made his way to the stream at the foot of the hill, inspected it, and then disappeared into the forest. I thought that would be the last I would see of him but later that afternoon he returned with his mate, and they made their way down to the stream together.

In the days that followed there was much activity. Poplar trees crashed one by one at night and with each crash, my hopes rose. We had beaver on our land. Not wishing to disturb them, I stopped fishing on the stream, but soon there was no possibility of fishing, for the stream was reduced to a trickle, and about a hundred yards from our cottage a beaver pond began to grow in size. From our kitchen window we could see the dam growing larger and larger and forming a semi-circle. And each day I found myself in the position of being able to observe beaver and photograph them at work — right outside our door.

To photograph the beaver at night while they worked, I bought a small, light, flat-bottomed boat,

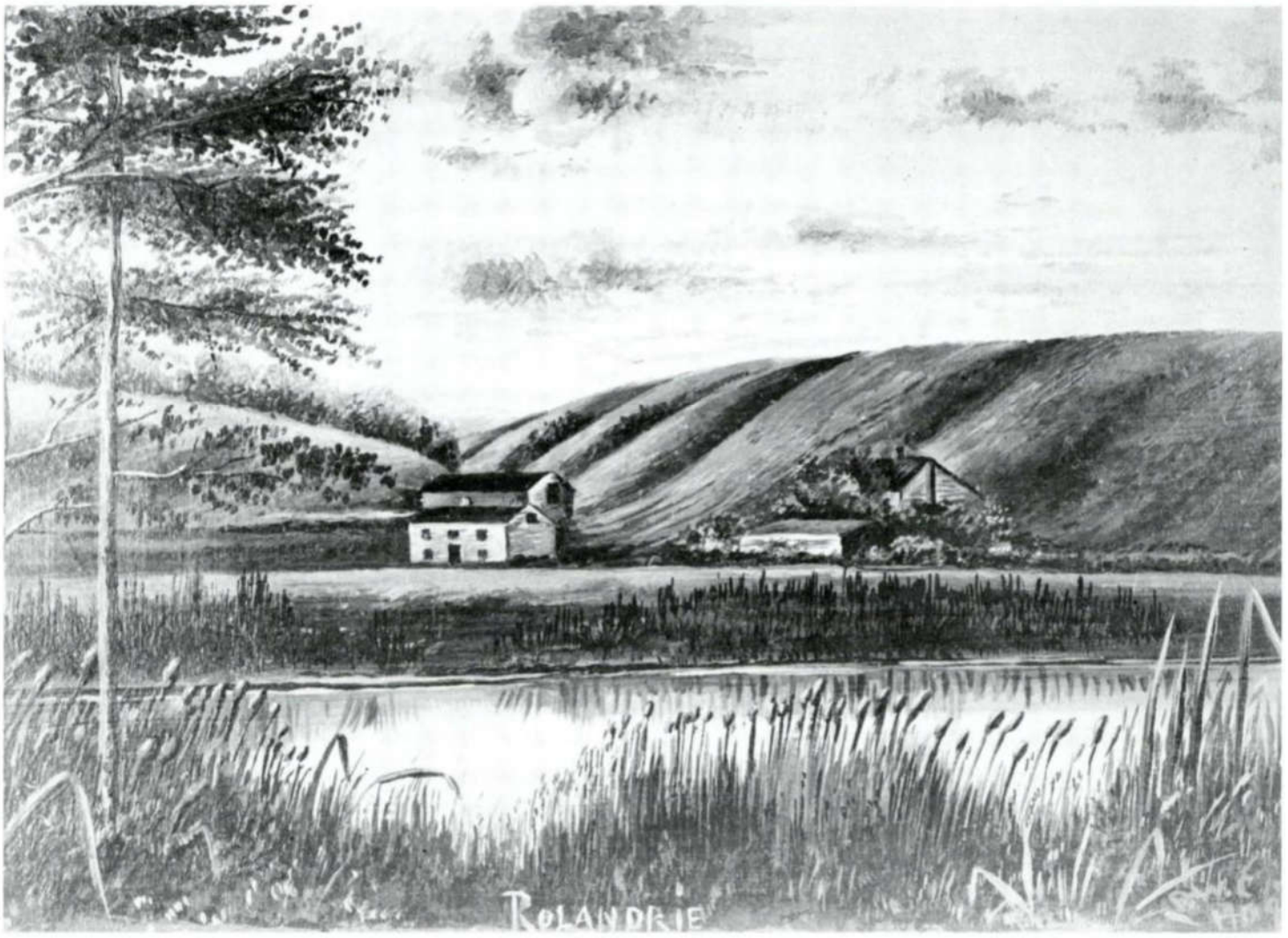
In an early snowstorm, the beaver trips the line that connects to the camera.

The animals move close to investigate the lighted candle.

one that could be easily put on a rack over my jeep. I used a sturdy wooden tripod, equipped myself for flashlight photography and started going to the dam on dark nights. For a jacklight, I used a candle in a large tin can that was screwed to the side of my tripod. This light was fascinating to the beaver. It hypnotized them and after a few minutes, they could resist it no longer and stole towards the shining loveliness. They moved noiselessly as shadows, drifting, pausing, concealing themselves as much as they could. The wavering candle held them and I had the chance, during these intervals, to take flashlight photographs. In time, they became accustomed to me in my boat and took me for granted. I would whistle to them softly and they would come out to me.

They both worked frantically to build their lodge before the heavy snows started. I was much impressed by the thought that was given to the operation. The poplars that grew on the side of the mountain would be cut down and made to fall in the direction of a grass chute, so that they could easily be slid down to the water with a minimum of effort. When the tree on which they were working was about to fall, they used their tails for signalling by a thump on the ground. To plaster their lodges they carried moist clods of clay up in their front paws to the top of their lodges, and stuffed them into the wood framework. Then at night, when the mud was wet with dew or rain they worked the soft clay into the foundation of branches, sliding their bodies over the wet clay until they had it smooth. The plastering protected the lodges in the spring from thawing ice and snow and in the winter it acted as an effective barrier against prowlers who might harm them during their long winter's rest. ◆

'La Rolanderie' — the farm established by Dr Rudolph Meyer on Pipestone Creek south of Whitewood. His enterprise, financed by a M. Lorin of Maule, Seine-et-Oise, France, was later turned over to Count Yves de Roffignac. From an oil painting by the late Connie Knowler of Whitewood, loaned for copying in 1954 to the Saskatchewan Archives Board.



This is the third article that author Ruth Humphrys of Ottawa has written for 'The Beaver' dealing with the settlement of well-to-do English and French families in Assiniboia. The Humphrys family came to Cannington Manor as pioneers in 1888.

Dr Rudolf Meyer and the French Nobility of Assiniboia

By Ruth Humphrys

'EVERLASTING CURSE for your deceit and treason against me! Bloody revenge will be sure! This is arranged and will be further arranged! Neither Whitewood, Manitoba, Paris, Florence, Venice and Rome will save you from it! Be sure of that!'

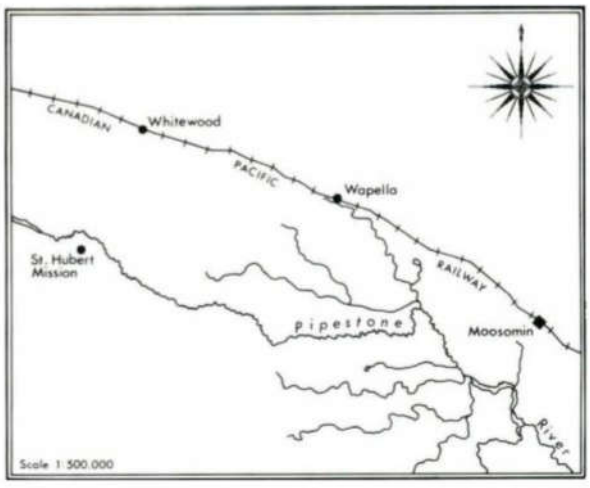
This menacing statement of intent was written on a postcard in German, and sent to Doctor Rudolf Meyer, a settlement agent in Assiniboia, now south-eastern Saskatchewan. It came from a disgruntled settler, who, disappointed in conditions as he found them, had flounced off to the United States, evidently in high dudgeon. Meyer sent the intimidating card to the Department of the Interior in Ottawa with the comment: '. . . having cheated the Government and swindled money out of me, *he* threatens *me!* Against ruffians of that kind, there is difficulty to protect men.'

The time was 1885, and the West was being won, not only by the Canadian Pacific Railway and the heroes of the history books, but by hard-working peasants and the carefree rich, by idle dreamers and tough-minded realists. They came for their own reasons: a better life, adventure, a fortune to be made, or escape from soul-destroying poverty. Many of them found only frustrations and hardships, and a back-breaking struggle for survival in a terrifying climate. The hostile writer of the postcard was not the only immigrant to go to the United States in search of easier conditions.

Rudolf Meyer was a German, fluent in French and English, who came to the Assiniboia area from Maule, Seine-et-Oise, France. There is no evidence that the title 'Doctor' meant 'medical'; more likely he had been trained in some aspect of agriculture. He had been provided with twenty thousand dollars by a M. Lorin of the same town, to come to Canada, seek out a suitable area and establish a settlement. He had also made an arrangement with the Canadian government whereby he would receive two acres of land for every settler established, which, he complained, did not cover his postage and printing costs. It appears to have been his job to acquire the land, see to the subdividing of it, and lend money where necessary to the immigrants to build their houses, buy the necessary farm machinery, or set up small businesses. It is not clear how M. Lorin and a 'Société Anonyme' in France with whom Meyer corresponded hoped to realize on this venture: probably in part by the importation of seed and stock from Europe, and perhaps, by land speculation.

Meyer seemed ideally suited to his job. He was a cultured, intelligent man of good education with boundless energy and drive for the work he had undertaken. He was knowledgeable in the breeding and raising of stock and the farming of the land. He was innovative and a good executive. He should have succeeded.

He found land to his liking around the Pipestone Creek, south of Whitewood. In a letter he explained that he had been advised by 'Mr. Van Horne and Mr. Pope' to choose this area. Five months after his arrival, he was able to write, in answer to a prospective settler's questions, 'I am settled here since 15th of June, have invested since then about $5400, built a good house, [which he named 'La Rolanderie' the name of M. Lorin's chateau in France] stable, ice-house, smoke-house, bridge, roads, ploughed and prepared for seeding 45 acres, harvested hay for 6 oxen, 1 cow, 2 horses, and all this without any assistance from the neighbours!' During this period he also aided in establishing seven homesteaders.



Saskatchewan Archives Board

The Whitewood town band c. 1885. Count de Soras and M. de Wolf stand on the extreme left. Marquis de Jumilhac, standing, is second from the right and Viscount de Langle is seated in the centre.

His letter continued: 'Hence this is why I only now get time to reply to your many questions. Whoever on his arrival here does not possess at least 3000 francs, has not at his disposal 2 (male) good labouring hands in his family, is not a farmer, harness maker, mason or blacksmith should not come hither!' In response to a question about the climate, he was optimistic and not too exact. 'I have not passed a winter yet, it is said to be extremely cold, but it cannot last long for today, 14th November, is another fine day again, and in March they were sowing in different places. The Swiss should commence here with at least 5-6 cows, and begin co-operative cheese and butter-making, grow corn, especially for their own use. Whoever cannot or will not do that is better away.'

In answer to a further question he wrote: 'I built my house from clay stones that have been dried in the air, which house I have protected against rain by ¾ inch boards. It is sufficiently warm; I have built also 2 "Castle" stoves of such clay-bricks, which stoves are cheap and doing good service. They heat up a square space of 38 feet x 20 x 9, each one two rooms. Clay is to be found everywhere and everyone can make such bricks himself. This manner of building stoves was new to the local settlers, Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Canadians, and is much admired. One could bake

bread in these stoves, but I have my baking done in an iron cooking stove of excellent American construction which cost $25. I wish to pickle and smoke meat and have built a smoke-house from stumps of trees and from grass, a cellar 24 feet x 12 x 8 is underneath the house; a pump 35 feet deep with 12-14 foot water nearby.'

Meyer soon found that 'La Rolanderie' had to be used as a stopping-place for the settlers and the Canadian Pacific Railway land guides who accompanied them. Many of the immigrants were extremely poor and he reminded Ottawa frequently that bringing them into the country was not settling them. 'I give them lodging and plentiful board without asking of either guides or settlers a cent.' Much of his time was taken up driving them about the district. Then when they had found their land, they came to him to borrow his farm implements and to learn to make bricks at his expense. '. . . and all those Germans have their letters to the Land Office and to Furnishers at Winnipeg written by me as nobody can write English. It is quite a terrible work I am in.' He does not say just how much of this moral and physical support was part of his arrangement with the government.

Fortunately, not all the settlers were leaning on the harassed Doctor Meyer's shoulders. In the midst of all this struggle and earnest endeavour a group from France, known locally as 'The French Counts', was establishing itself in the area. 'The Counts' were not all of the aristocracy; nine of them were titled, but all were men of means and position who had come from France in search of adventure and money. They founded a community a little south-west of the town of Whitewood which they named St Hubert after the patron saint of hunting, an appropriate choice as horses and the hunt seem to have been their chief interests. There is no clear evidence that they came to the district as a result of the publicity given in France to Meyer's enterprise, but it is probable. In one of Meyer's letters to Ottawa he mentions certain people he is expecting and adds, 'and if Mr. Doulcet is pleased, wealthy Frenchmen also'.

The Counts must have created a considerable stir as they settled themselves comfortably into the midst of the hard-working pioneers and stolid Crees of the area. Not for them the spartan life of the settler. Here was adventure on the grand scale. True, they started various business enterprises with more enthusiasm than knowledge; they had, after all, come to Canada to make money, but like many of the English settlers of Cannington Manor to the south they did not let work interfere too much with their cultural and social activities. With them came their household servants, farm workers and gardeners, and coachmen and grooms to care for their fine thoroughbreds and hounds. Artisans came too, to assist in the building of their comfortable houses. If we wonder if the story has lost nothing in the telling over the years, we have the childhood memories of the late Mrs L. W. D. Parks who wrote in the *Whitewood Herald* in 1940:

The scene on Whitewood's main street, c. 1885, as cattle from Moose Mountain forty miles to the south arrive for shipment.

'When the Counts and their families arrived, they lived in a degree of state. They imported foods, wines, confectionery, and all the various luxuries to which they had been accustomed.

'Thoroughbred horses and dogs were brought from France, as well as the finest accessories of riding and driving equipment. They rode and drove a great deal. Their equipages, smartly turned out, came tooling over the winding prairie trails, high dog-carts which might have rolled through the Bois de Boulogne drawn by sleekly groomed, spirited horses . . . the sole watcher perhaps an inquisitive gopher by his hole, or a lazily poised hawk floating above the vast silence.'

What a delightful, incongruous sight it must have been as they bounced their way over the prairie trails to attend the races at Cannington Manor or Moosomin. There were dog-carts and phaetons, and three and four-in-hands with coachmen and footmen resplendent in livery complete to tall hats and cockades. The ladies wore fashionable Parisian gowns on these occasions and protected their complexions with silk parasols and the elaborate hats of the period.

As well as a love of horses, they shared with their English counterparts at Cannington Manor a love of music. They formed a town band. One of their group, M. de Wolf, was a member of 'Maison Pleyel and Wolf', piano manufacturers. Other members of the band included the Count Henri de Soras, the Marquis Jean de Jumilhac, and the Viscount Joseph de Langle who were also associated in a sheep-raising venture. With a remarkable lack of business acumen they successfully raised a large flock of fifteen hundred sheep, only to find that the market was limited and their sheep had literally no place to go.

They held an annual ball which gave everyone a chance to wear formal attire. If there was something ludicrous about white gloves, jewels, and the décolleté of Parisian gowns in the crude public rooms of the Whitewood Hotel with the loungers of the day looking on, there was something about their *joie de vivre* and spirit that displayed their own kind of pioneer courage and optimism for their future.

We do not know how much part, if any, Rudolf Meyer took in these activities. It would be surprising if he had the time or the inclination. He continued to bombard Ottawa with letters of complaint and detailed accounts of his industrious activity on behalf of the settlers, the country and himself. As time went on he became increasingly indignant and frustrated and threatened to leave in spite of the flourishing ranch he had built up with its large herd of cattle, pure-bred hogs and fine horses.

He urged the government to send better police protection and accused the Indians of stealing the settlers' horses and setting prairie fires. A reporter for *The Regina Leader* was more objective and blamed the fires on 'the carelessness of some idiot or other'. From other firsthand accounts we know that frequently it was the inexperienced settler himself who was at fault.

Meyer did not like the system of widely scattered farms which rendered the homesteaders defenceless, and he was quick to point out that the village system of Europe was to be preferred. Somehow, possible dangers were the fault of the government, and then as today, it had better 'do something' or the settlers to whom he was devoting so much energy would scatter to the United States or return to Europe.

When the settler had obtained his land, he was required to live on it and work it, but according to Meyer, certain 'capitalists' were acquiring vast tracts of the best acreage and fulfilling government requirements by putting up small houses in which they did not live, or even one or two inadequate outbuildings which they did not use. A little wheat was sown, but they did not trouble to harvest it. In the meantime, genuine settlers were having to take less desirable land. Again he begged for more police protection, evidently feeling they could take care of the 'capitalists' too.

At this time the government was beginning to establish experimental farm stations. Professor (later Doctor) William Saunders came to the area and visited 'La Rolanderie'. Meyer immediately wrote to Ottawa offering his ranch 'for two or three years at no greater cost as will be the running of an experimental farm. You find here a manager, me, who knows European agriculture and especially those produces that you want to try, and who has already one and a half years' experience in the North West. You find as good a gardener as is to be got from Paris where gardening is unsurpassed.' He went on to explain his farming methods in detail, the type of land and the machinery he was using. He had raised a splendid crop of sugar-beets and he requested travelling expenses to go to Ottawa to discuss further his proposals with the Department of Agriculture.

There is little doubt that he had firsthand knowledge of farm stations. They had been started in Germany in 1852, France had picked up the idea, and by the time Meyer came to Canada they were well-established and government-sponsored in both countries.

Perhaps he received no response, for a few months later he wrote to Lord Lansdowne, the Governor-General. Meyer may have been an eccentric and a bit of a nuisance but this letter shows him clearly to have been a man of vision and imagination whose capabilities were never fully considered or employed.

'Your Excellency,

'I take the liberty to submit most respectfully some observations I have made here to the impartial and stable High Head of our Government. I think the N.W. ought to be economically divided into three parts: 1, Valley of the Red River as far west as Portage

The home of Count de Beaulincourt was purchased by James J. Knowler (shown here with his family) who established himself as a general merchant in Whitewood in 1887. Count de Beaulincourt occupied his time with painting; a life-sized portrait of an Indian warrior once adorned the staircase of the count's frame house.

La Prairie with Winnipeg as its natural center. 2, The agricultural prairie from there to Moose Jaw, 3, the pastoral prairie from there to the Mountains. The second part is about 350 miles long, 200 to 250 miles large, about 80,000 square miles, most of it excellent soil with rain enough to grow grain, prairies with hay enough to allow mixed husbandry.

'About a year ago I submitted to Sir Charles Tupper a project of experimental farms sent by him to the Agriculture Department and that Your Excellency might perhaps order to be produced to you. I think it gave the impetus for the now resolved foundation of them. Professor Saunders travelled in November and December here to locate them, that was impossible as all soil was snow-covered and no judgement of it possible . . . the experimental farm ought to grow those imported grains that have been a success in that part of Europe between Oder and Ural that has about our climate and soil.'

He suggested establishing an agricultural exhibition and instituting weekly visitors' days at the farm stations with tickets at reduced rates. No detail seems to have been too small for his consideration.

We do not know if Rudolf Meyer's earnest and wordy letters 'gave the impetus' to the government plans for experimental farms. Official recognition for the inspection of farm stations went to The Honourable (later Sir) John Carling, Minister of Agriculture, and Professor William Saunders. But there was 'experimental' farming of the most hare-brained kind going on all around him, and it seems reasonable to suppose that he was equally generous with his advice to the French gentlemen of the area. Like the government they evidently paid little heed. They blithely undertook to establish ranches and small businesses although they knew nothing about farming, raising stock, or good business practice.

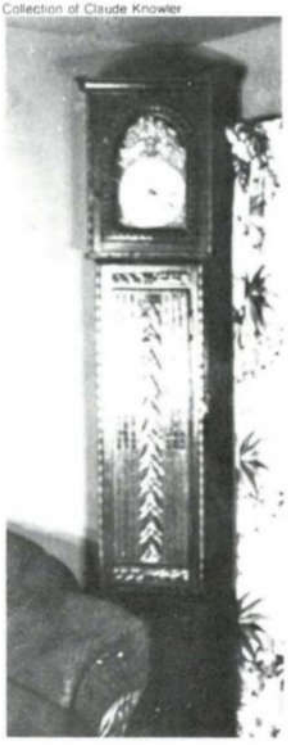
It was not surprising that their various projects failed. The Viscount Alphonse de Seyssel and M. Emile Janet decided to manufacture gruyère cheese. They bought a large herd of cattle, built a factory, installed machinery, and imported labour and a manager. They were warned, but they did not trouble to have the milk analysed. Too late they found that cattle on prairie pasture and, in winter, on dry feed, did not produce the same flavoured milk as cattle on year-round pasturage on the lush green fields of Switzerland.

The cultivation of chicory was somewhat more successful. Because it was popular blended with coffee in Europe it seemed like a good idea to try it in Canada, and no one appears to have wondered if this acquired taste would prove popular here. The brothers Van Brabant from Belgium, associated with the Count Yves de Roffignac, grew a crop but their blend was not palatable. They tried again with the Marquis Jean de Jumilhac at his farm 'Richelieu' but still the flavour was wrong. Later, M. Emile Renoult and Count Paul de Beaudrap tried their luck. They found a limited market for several years, but eventually they too abandoned the project. It was the nearest that any of their projects came to success.

The Count Yves de Roffignac seems to have been the leading member of the French community and his name is associated with most of the ventures undertaken by his compatriots, although in every case his participation was short-lived. There is evidence he was difficult to work with. He came out about the same time as Rudolf Meyer, and in the beginning, it was their intention to associate, but nothing came of it. He was well aware of the success Meyer had made of 'La Rolanderie' and he was in communication with Meyer's backers in France.

Then, in 1889 a change occurred. One writer suggests that it was due to de Roffignac's manipulations. A group of shareholders in France bought the ranch and formed 'The Rolanderie Stock Raising Society' and Meyer found himself replaced by the Count as director of the enterprise. It must have been a sad and bitter time for Rudolf Meyer. He had put into the ranch all his industry and talent and much

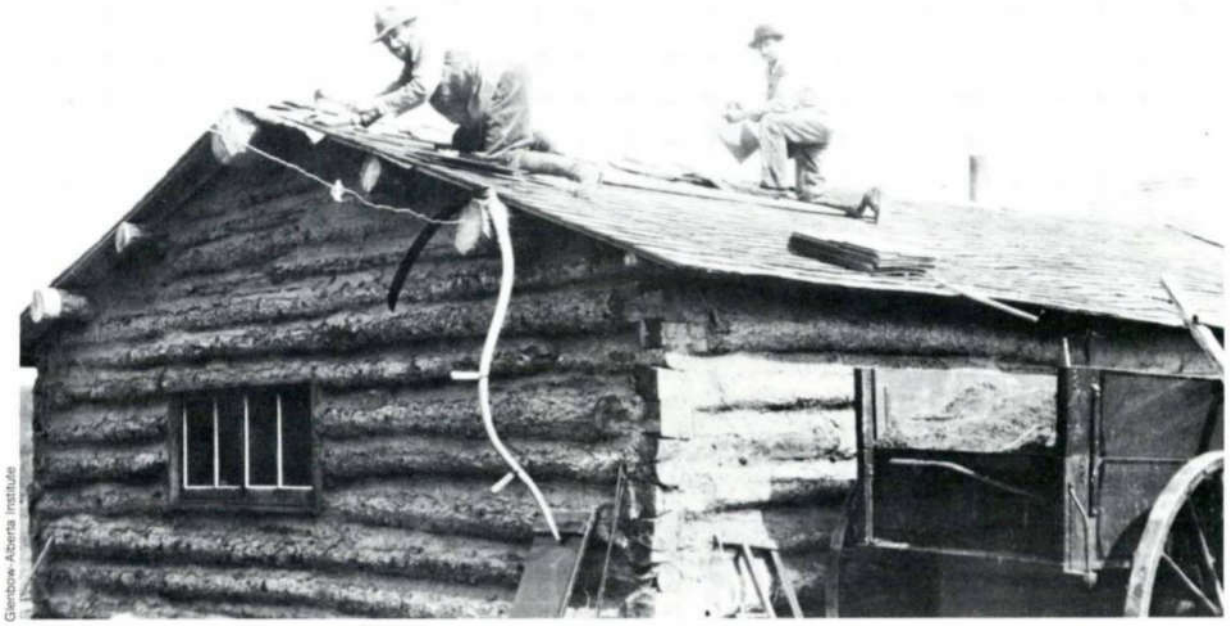
Collection of Claude Knowler



This tall clock of hand-carved oak was brought to Canada in the 1880s by one of the French counts. It remains in the Knowler family, and still keeps good time.

Count de Soras tried sheep ranching at Moose Mountain, but lived most of the year in his Whitewood home, shown here as it was in the 1960s. He grew a wide variety of flowers, cooked gourmet meals, and took many photographs which appear to have been lost.

Collection of Claude Knowler



Glenbow-Alberta Institute

Count de Beaudrap (right) returned to Canada in 1904 to try pioneer life once again at Trochu, Alberta. Here he shingles the roof of his homestead c. 1906.

of his own money, and he saw in his accomplishment a glimmer of what the future agricultural development in Canada would be. He left the Northwest and never returned.

De Roffignac immediately decided to increase the raising of horses, and with a M. Farguet, who supplied the money, and the Viscount Joseph de Langle, he formed a partnership. It proved disastrous in a few months and ended in a lawsuit in France. De Langle was left the sole owner of the horses. It was an unprofitable venture, and de Langle left his farm and opened a general store in Whitewood where he became a permanent and popular member of the community.

The irresponsible de Roffignac came back to Canada with his bride, Germaine de Salving, daughter of the Count de Boissieu, and decided to go ahead with a project Rudolf Meyer had put forward three years before, the raising of sugar-beets and the opening of a sugar-beet factory. Sugar prices were high and the idea seemed reasonable. De Roffignac obtained a large quantity of seed which he distributed to local farmers. After the crops were raised it was learned that there would be no money forthcoming from France, for the very practical reason that the backers learned that the Canadian government forbade the use of the beet by-product to distil alcohol. Another example of de Roffignac's lack of foresight previous to this fiasco was the necessity of destroying a large part of Meyer's herd of swine because he had not grown enough grain for feed.

And so the poignant and sometimes ludicrous chronicle of the Counts' misguided attempts to establish themselves continued. By the end of the century, except for the realistic de Langle in his store in Whitewood, they had returned to France or drifted off to find adventure elsewhere. The Marquis de Jumilhac, with three others from the area, started out for the Klondike. They reached McMurray where they had trouble with their boat, and there is no evidence they reached their goal. Later de Jumilhac served in the South African War. The Count Paul de Beaudrap was among those who returned to France but in 1904 decided to try the pioneer life again and came back to Canada. He and his Countess established a new home near Trochu, Alberta, where he built up a successful ranch which produced good livestock. He encouraged relatives and friends from France to come out and settle in the area. It is pleasant to report that one of the Counts was a successful pioneer.

But if the practical, hard-working Rudolf Meyer and the impractical, fun-loving Counts did not have the satisfaction of realizing their dreams they did make their own contribution to the development of their corner of the Northwest, albeit unwittingly. They certainly put more money into circulation than they took out and several substantial houses and a fine little church they left were further benefits to the community. The animals they bred and raised helped in the development of good breeds in the West, and perhaps, most important, many of the artisans and land workers they had brought from France chose to stay and continue the work of developing the land.◆

A charcoal sketch by Ned Jacob of a dancer in 'old-style' costume.

Mr Raczka, lecturer in the Native Studies Department, University of Lethbridge, Alberta, is advisory board member for the Old Man Cultural Centre on the Peigan Reserve, Brocket. Photographs, unless otherwise credited, are by the author.

Indian Dancers

By Paul Raczka

In this photograph by R. N. Wilson, dated 1893, ceremonial articles are being exchanged between Assiniboine Indians from Montana and the Blood Indians of Alberta.

Glenbow Alberta Institute

IN 1953, THREE MEMBERS of the North Peigan Band, Tom Yellowhorn, Joe Crowshoe Sr, and Pat Bad Eagle Sr, introduced the first Indian Days celebration to Canada at Brocket, Alberta. They had joined the Indian Days Committee in Browning, Montana, among the South Peigans, and felt a similar celebration would benefit the people of their reserve. From this first Canadian Indian Days, the concept quickly spread and is continuing to spread to the present day, reaching northward as far as Saddle Lake and Peace River in Alberta, and from Vancouver into Ontario. Visitors from the Rocky Boy Cree Reserve in Montana and various Sioux Reserves in the Dakotas hastened the acceptance in Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

For the Blackfoot Confederacy, the Indian Days concept was not a difficult one to accept. It was based on the Grass Dance Society complex which had been spreading north from the Ponca and Pawnee tribes in Nebraska since the early 1800s. The society was known to the Blackfoot for several years prior to its acceptance.

During the years of intertribal raiding, which continued until the 1870s many of the society's ceremonial articles were captured from the Sioux and Assiniboine by Blackfoot raiders. Warbonnets, feather belts, battle axes, whistles and whips were some of the items captured. These articles were often suspended from a tripod at the outside rear of the tipi in the usual manner of medicine bundles and this made them desirable trophies for the Blackfoot raiders.

When the intertribal raiding came to a halt and the people were placed on reserves, a great deal of visiting between former enemies took place.

On one such visit, the Assiniboines from Fort Belknap Reserve in Montana discovered a Grass Dance Society drum in the possession of a Blood Indian named Sitting Bull. Careful questioning proved that it was captured during a horse raid five or six years prior to the Great Peace and that other Blood Indians also had ceremonial articles belonging to the society. The Assiniboines then decided to transfer the society to the Bloods.

In the traditional manner of intertribal ceremonial transfers, they gave half the society's articles to the Bloods and retained the other half. Thus, both groups could construct the missing articles and continue with the society. As near as can be determined, this transfer took place in the 1860s and the society became known as the Kaispa, or Parted Hair Society, from the Blackfoot name for the Sioux, who had transferred it to the Assiniboines.

As time progressed more articles were added to the society. Each time visitors went to the Gros Ventre Reserve in Montana they brought back another part of the dance. When Assiniboine or Gros Ventre visitors came to Canada they also brought articles to

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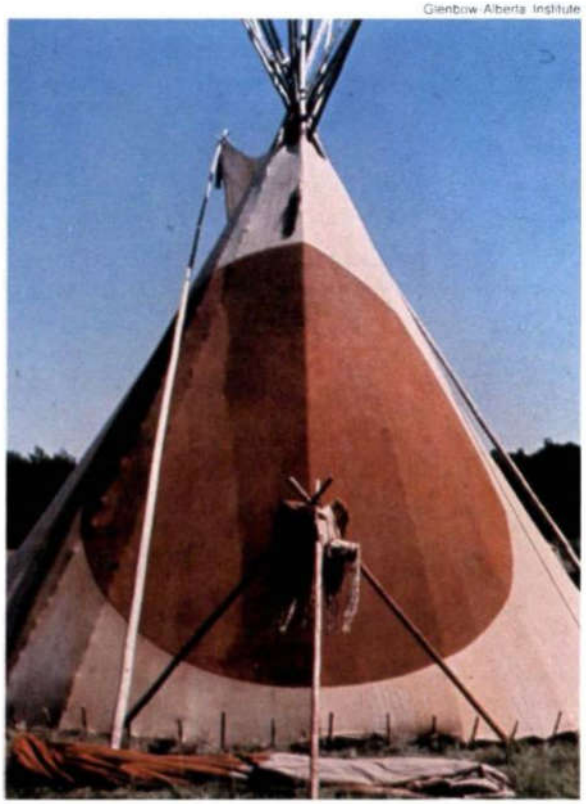


A tipi displaying medicine bundles.

transfer. In 1893 R. N. Wilson, a trader and former Indian agent, photographed one of these transfers. Behind the dancers can be seen some of the horses exchanged in the transfer. The agent on the reserve expressed his disgust that his people were paying out numerous horses and goods for a bunch of feathers and 'things'.

Many of the articles of the Parted Hair Society became the foundation of the modern Indian Days dancer's costume. The Eagle Belt bundles and Crow Belt bundles evolved into the modern dance bustle. The Whistle and Drum bundles also moved into non-ceremonial use at the Indian Days.

The dance which became the main attraction of the modern Indian Days was actually the last dance of the society's total performance and was purely social, which allowed non-society members to participate.

The Parted Hair Society was and is a religious society subject to ceremonial purchase and transfer of the individual bundles. Through the years, the cost of membership has increased. In addition, many modern Indian people do not believe in the traditional religion or do not want to be bothered with the complex religious obligations attached to owning one of these bundles. Yet, many of these same people desire to retain a portion of their Indian heritage.

Hence, we have the main reasons for the acceptance and spread of the modern Indian Days. People could take part in the social aspects of the dance with little of

the expense or responsibilities involved in the traditional ceremonial ownership or transfer, and the size of the group was not limited by the number of ceremonial bundles available.

For a number of years, Indian Days continued with little change in its structure or the outfits of the dancers. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the first indications of change began to appear. Dance contests with cash prizes became the norm, and the feather dancer made his appearance. Both of these changes originated in Oklahoma and have gradually drifted into the northern plains.

Dancing styles changed to favour the contest judges and audience appeal. The old style, still used by such Indian Day notables as Phillip Many Hides of the South Peigans, Laurie Plume of the Bloods and Albert Little Moustache Sr of the North Peigans, consisted of slow, proud steps. This was accompanied by upper body movement, crouching and head movement by nodding and turning from side to side. The new dancers now concentrate on intricate footwork, spinning, accentuated head movement and dipping. This is accompanied by a great deal of feather movement and done at a very fast pace.

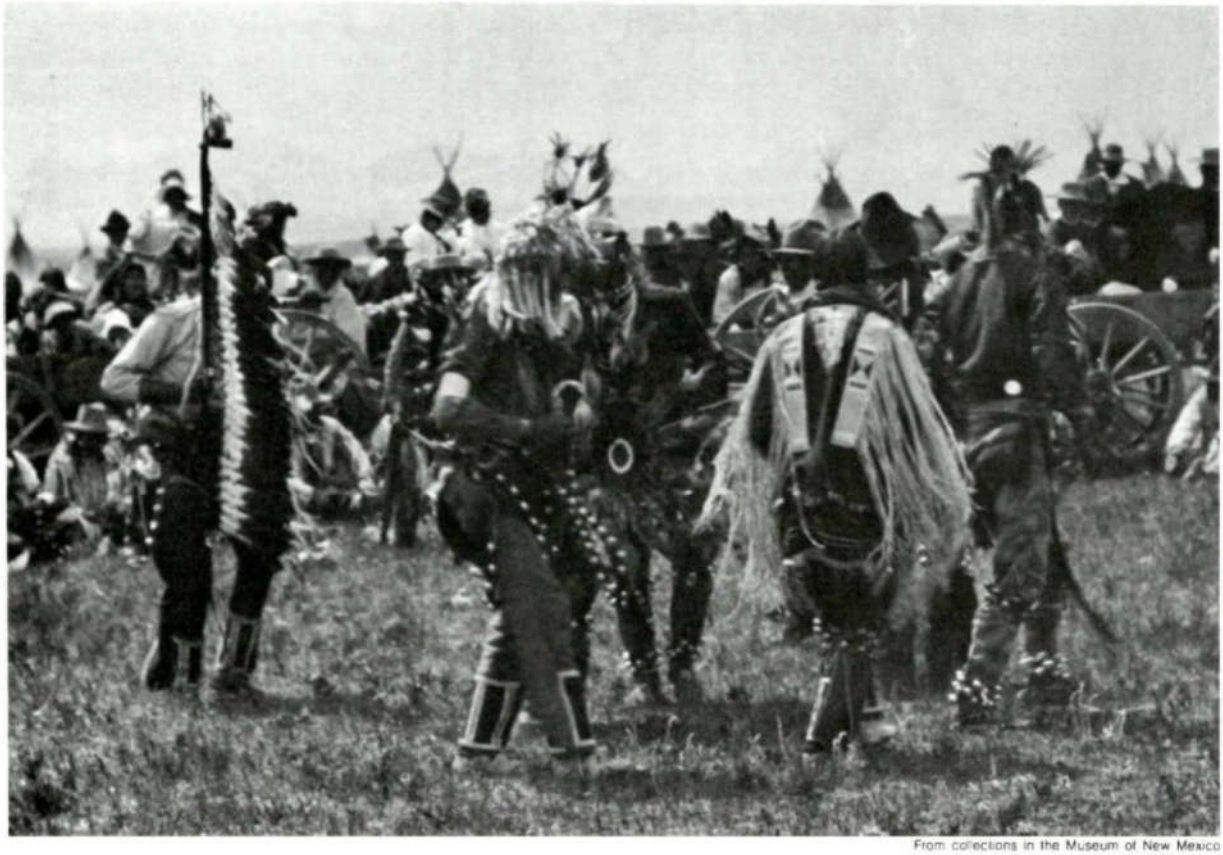
The feather dancers' style and dance outfits co-evolved to produce the utmost utilization of each other. The most outstanding parts of the new feather dancers' outfits are the large feather bustles worn on the back and neck. They are constructed in a manner which allows the feathers to move with the dancer and enhance his dancing style. They consist of large pointer feathers, to which are attached the smaller hackle feathers and plumes. Their main function is to accentuate the movement of the dancer and, with the brightly coloured hackles, attract the judges' attention.

The use of the bustles produced a universal style of dance outfit. Tribal distinctions became more subtle. Beadwork designs, colours and techniques became the only method of determining a dancer's tribal origin.

An ideal dance outfit would include a porcupine head-dress or roach. The long porcupine hair is attached by its bottom end to a yarn base; this allows the hair to bob or sway with the dancer's movement. Attached to the centre of the head-dress base is a spreader made of rawhide or heavy leather. This contains the 'rocker' which holds two eagle feathers in place. The rocker enables the feathers to move forward and backward with the dancer's accentuated head movement.

The beadwork on a dancer's outfit ideally would be a matched set. This would consist of a headband, arm-

A Kaispa Society dance performed at Browning, Montana, c. 1920.



From collections in the Museum of New Mexico

Albert Little Moustache, a North Peigan dancer, moves in the traditional way with slow proud steps. Here he carries the whip of the Kaispa Society.

bands, cuffs, suspenders hanging from the neck in front, a belt, fully-beaded moccasins and accessories such as a fan or whistle.

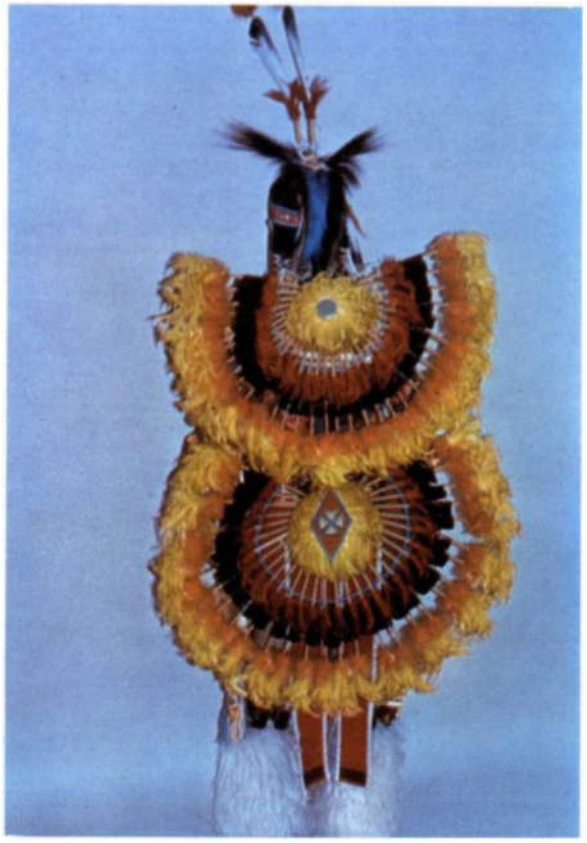
Accessories would consist of a choker, pendant, necklaces, breastplate, woven belts, sheep bells and angora anklets. To fill out a costume a dancer may add colour co-ordinated scarves or ribbons to various parts of his outfit.

The basic part of an outfit is a collarless, long-sleeved shirt, usually made of a brightly-patterned material that co-ordinates with the beadwork and feather colours. Since most dancers now wear swim-trunks under their outfits, aprons are used instead of breechcloths. These are two rectangular pieces of wool cloth that cover the front and back of the dancer. Often they are decorated with a rayon fringe and beadwork.

The finishing touch is face and body paint. Poster paint of the fluorescent type is often used with triangles or stripes on the face and wide bands on the exposed part of the dancer's legs.

The Eagle Belt and Crow Belt bundles of the Kaispa or Parted Hair Society have evolved into the bustles of modern feather dancers.

Marvin Crowshoe, a North Peigan feather dancer, displays the modern costume.



On top of this is added the feather bustle. The top or neck bustle is attached with a coloured scarf and the bottom bustle attached with a woven yarn belt. The overall effect should be a colour co-ordinated costume that accentuates the modern dancer's movements.

The entry points of the feather dancers into Canada are interesting in themselves. They show a contact association which could be puzzling to the uninitiated. Perhaps the first Canadian group to produce feather dancers was the Smallboy breakaway band on the Stoney Plains of Alberta. Because of their move and separation from the Hobbema Reserve, they were the subject of a great deal of publicity. Along with this publicity came visitors. One group of visitors were dancers from the United States who were heavily influenced by the Oklahoma feather dancers. On subsequent visits they brought the materials necessary for the construction of the feather bustles. This is perhaps the most important point since the feather hackles, which are the primary item used in the bustle construction, were not available in Canada.

The Peigans were next to produce feather dancers. This was initiated by a new trader in the area who stocked feather hackles and pointers. He had spent a great deal of time with Oklahoma dancers in the United States and taught a number of young Peigans how to construct the bustle sets. These young men then began producing them for sale. As a result, they spread to the Bloods, who began to duplicate them.

From this same trader, the North Blackfoot also obtained their materials and began to develop their feather dancers.

While this was going on, the third entry point was being developed. This was in the Fort Qu'Appelle area of Saskatchewan. Again visitors from the United States, mainly Rocky Boy Crees and Sioux, brought the new styles. This area was a bit slower to develop since it was necessary to travel to the United States to purchase the required feather hackles.

As a result of the current revival of interest in native culture, young people are travelling further to attend Indian Day celebrations. Thus, there is a greater availability of the necessary supplies. This is also producing more uniformity in total appearance to conform to the current style of dance outfit.

The fashion setters are constantly active. They have changed from short hackles (3" to 5") to longer ones (6" to 8") and their bustle colours are now moving towards the fluorescent. While originally beadworkers used white or various blues for backgrounds, bright oranges, yellows and reds are now appearing to co-ordinate with the fluorescent feather bustles. The porcupine-hair roach head-dress is now decorated with brightly-coloured deer hair, instead of the traditional white, to further add colour co-ordination.

A parallel movement is also occurring. The Blackfoot have always been a proud nationalistic nation. The young dancers, and a few middle-aged ones, have begun to produce a modified, 'oldtime' dance costume. The brightly-coloured feather bustles are not here. In their place we have a modified grass dance bustle made of eagle feathers and decorated with a few primary-coloured plumes. The beadworkers have maintained the traditional colours and designs.

Dancers at Peigan Indian Days at Brocket, Alberta, 1977.

An Oklahoma-style dance shirt and eagle feathers attached to the hair roach spreader are two of the new items added. Thus, we have a modified return to the traditional style of dance outfit evident at the turn of the century, and an outfit that definitely identifies the wearer as Blackfoot.

The Canadian plains are an area of dynamic cultural changes. Beauty of design and adaptation of new materials present an ever-changing picture of the art and culture of the Plains Indians. An important segment of Canadian art is there, changing and developing, largely unnoticed, but unquestionably alive and well. ◆

HENRY A. C. JACKSON

Amateur Canadian Naturalist

Text by Mimi Cazort Taylor

Mrs Taylor is curator of drawings, National Gallery of Canada. The Jackson water-colours are reproduced with permission from the collections of the National Gallery of Canada. A travelling exhibition of the water-colours will open in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, on 15 September.

THE SOLITARY MAN walking in the woods and communing with nature is a familiar figure in North American folklore. Like the frontiersman, the hunter and the homesteader he is a loner, but unlike them, he is an observer rather than a man of action. Sometimes his observations are recorded in words or images. Sometimes his desire to impose order on the multiplicity of natural phenomena leads him in the direction of scientific classification and nomenclature.

Henry Alexander Carmichael Jackson was such a man. He was born in Montreal something over a hundred years ago, the oldest of six children. Hard times forced the boy to leave school at the age of fourteen to go to work to help support his mother and the five little ones. In art, he was largely self-taught, though he and his brother A. Y. Jackson took advantage of free evening art classes at the Monument National in Montreal whose faculty included William Brymner and Edmond Dyonnet. Until he was over fifty, Mr Jackson worked long hours in commercial art firms in Montreal. Ever able to turn any skill to advantage, he used the high-density dye pigments developed for commercial work in the production of the mushroom water-colours which he made in his spare time. His experience in commercial art also enlivened his ability to render the texture of the mushrooms — sometimes velvety, sometimes glaucous.

Until 1941 the Jackson family lived in Montreal. His journals recount his weekend rambles in the nearby La Salle woods to which he made a bee-line almost every Saturday afternoon and Sunday, his only free time. In 1941 the family moved to a house which had been built for them in Quebec and, though he continued to take nature walks, he spent most of his later years gardening and enjoying the serene life of a gentleman in a rural community. Though the journal

entries are, in a sense, more interesting during the early hard years when every private moment was one to be cherished and appreciated, the finest of the mushroom water-colours were done after his retirement.

As he devoted more time and energy to the study of fungi, he became increasingly expert not only in rendering them in water-colours but in classifying them scientifically. His expertise was so recognized that he was invited to attend mycological conferences and mushroom-hunting 'forays' in the United States as well as in Canada. His first adventure in this line took place in 1935 when he was invited to attend meetings of the Mycological Society of America at Cornell University. His pleasure at being fully accepted by this group of scholars is touchingly related in the journals: 'they were so extremely pleasant . . . my inferiority complex vanished rapidly. Apparently a simple field naturalist is quite a new genus in a University.' Later he was invited to produce illustrations for a work on mushrooms by the noted Canadian mycologist, Dr René Pomerleau.

Mr Jackson began to keep a journal of his nature walks in 1931, when he was already over fifty years old, and the entries continued regularly until 1954. His own words portray his life in the woods more vividly than any paraphrase of them. On 28 September 1934 he wrote:

'The row down Little Whitefish Lake was interesting with weird weather effects. I had pleasure of sitting in the bow of the boat and consequently could give all my attention to the surroundings. As the light faded everything became more black and indistinct. Reflections looked like islands whilst islands were invisible. Near the corner where we turned into the deep bay something glowed green and luminous near

the water. Somebody suggested firefly, the glow was stationary and too large so I imagine it must have been Foxfire.'

And, on 13 January 1935:

'Going through the upper woods we came across something that made us feel very sad indeed. Feathers were seen in the snow which proved to be from a grouse. Our first opinion was that it had met its fate from the talons of an owl. Alas, it was worse than that, for at one side was an empty gun shell . . . Our poor little covey of grouse, they have existed here for years and will this be their ultimate end: after surviving the onslaught of so many enemies is some deadly killer going to clear them out to say nothing of breaking the game laws and shooting them out of season.'

There were times, however, when the needs of hungry men during the Depression justified the killing of animals:

'Going to the Roundhouse we were rather disgusted to find some muskrat hunters on the big pond. However they proved very decent fellows and invited us into their camp which had formerly been an office in the C.N. plant. We brewed a pot of tea on their stove and rested comfortably for an hour. They were three men on relief and were in receipt of $1.74 a week from the city. It only cost them twenty-five cents a day each to live like lords in their camp. Good vegetables, bread, a little pork and the muskrat carcasses made good fare for hungry men. The trapping had not been much but pelts sold for $1.50 each.'

And another incident recorded 9 March 1935 reflected, in passing, hard times in Montreal:

'Our first objective was the lower part of Montreal West to look for our Hawk Owl. He was there, sure enough . . . what a dependable bird . . . Met a man with a couple of pieces of timber under his arm.

POLYPORUS Schweinitzii Fries.
Collected Islet County, Que.
August 15th 1942 on Red Spruce stump
Det. by Dr. W.H. Snell.
Natural size.

He could speak no French and little English. Told us that he had been out of work for three years and that the city allowed him eighty cents a day to live on. Said that he ate only bread and sausages. I gave him fifteen cents for which he seemed very grateful and touched his hat in European style.'

For the most part, Mr Jackson's walks in the woods were solitary. The journals were full of references to ruses to slip away:

'as an excuse to avoid a dinner invitation a faked up appointment was made with the woods. My pleasure was just as great as my discomfiture otherwise would have been.'

Some of the most appealing stories, however, were those of old-fashioned family outings. On 19 December 1936 he wrote:

'Our annual jaunt to get Christmas greens. Three of us sat in the rumble seat and mighty cold it was too though when returning we improved matters by pulling a buffalo-robe over our heads. The snow was deep in the woods as we tramped over to the old camping spot. A jolly fire was started and then we all dispersed to gather boughs of pine, balsam and hemlock, also second growth beech with the dead leaves on, which make beautiful decorations. Hot coffee and doughnuts were served amidst much merriment.'

Another account tells of a group romp in the woods under conditions that would stun the hardiest:

'Forty years ago during the winter it was the accepted custom to go for a snow shoe tramp every Saturday afternoon . . . The tramp in the silent woods this afternoon made me think of ancient days. The poor remnant of the woods which used to stretch from Côte St. Paul village to Lachine is being laid low. The section at LaSalle is the last stand . . . on account of the thick bush we were to travel in we had provided ourselves with snowshoes figuring that a good crust would provide easy travelling.

'Another vain hope for we sank to our knees every step and we were much relieved when we struck a lumber road . . . As the rain was increasing we took shelter under thick Black Spruce woods and in no time had a cheerful fire going. Lunch was prepared with much laughter and merriment. Wet toggery was placed in the branches over the fire to dry. Sausages and bacon were sizzling in the pan and sandwiches

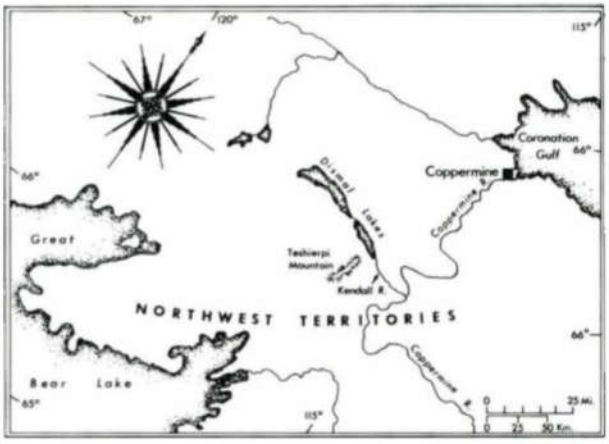
were toasted and finally when the water was boiling in Lewis' old tea pail a good brew of tea was made. It was all very pleasant indeed. Then they asked me for a recitation and I gave the "Ballad of Blasphemous Bill" and "Athabasca Dick". We stayed around the campfire for at least two hours. Never have seen a hardier or a more sportsmanlike group of women. Never a whimper and a joke about everything which would have shamed many men I have been out with.'

Like any true naturalist, Mr Jackson was acutely aware of changes in the weather, seasonal variation from year to year and unusual occurrences in nature such as snowstorms in June or hot spells in November. All these were duly recorded, with surprise and delight, along with the dutiful listing of birds seen, flowers recurring and rare mushrooms spotted and identified. His most assiduous attention was always reserved for the mushrooms, and this is reflected in the appearance of the water-colours themselves. Not only are they purely and simply beautiful, they are accurate — the accuracy that proceeds from patient and intense observation suffused with a kind of wonderment that these extravagant forms exist at all in the world. ◆

The Dismal Lakes

By David Buetow

Biologist David Buetow of Silver Bay, Minnesota, has travelled remote arctic rivers and lakes extensively by canoe. The photographs are by the author, unless otherwise credited.



IRRITATION LAKE, Starvation Lake, Frustration Bay . . . the North is sprinkled with place-names which speak of the discomforts and hardships that the first explorers experienced as they travelled through new and unknown country. None, however, sounds so totally unappealing to the outsider as the Dismal Lakes, situated off the Coppermine River midway between Great Bear Lake and Coronation Gulf. The lakes were named by Thomas Simpson while on an early exploration for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1838; they remain relatively inaccessible to this day. It was perhaps the name as much as anything which compelled me with three companions (Bruce Koci, Jim Novotny and John Streater from Minnesota) to take a week off from our canoe trip down the Coppermine River to visit and explore the lakes for ourselves.

To reach the lakes we had to ascend the Kendall River, a stream about 12 miles long, which connects the Dismal Lakes with the Coppermine River. The small and often shallow river had many rapids and it required a great deal of effort to line and walk our two wood and canvas-covered canoes upstream against the current. We reached the lakes late in the afternoon of 19 July, the second day after leaving the Coppermine River. We were now beyond the tree-line for the first time on the trip north and faced the Barren Grounds surrounding the Dismal Lakes.

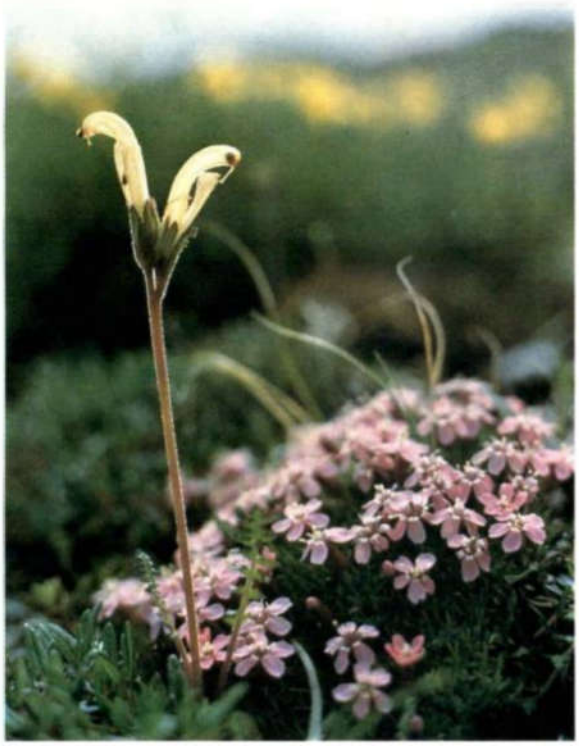
The lakes are a chain of three extending over a distance of 30 miles separated by two dikes or shallow narrows. The first of the narrows was so shallow that it was necessary to walk our canoes through water three to four inches deep. These narrows and shallow spots in the lake afforded places where early explorers (as well as caribou) crossed in the summertime. Otherwise the Kendall River and the lakes would form a linear barrier extending west almost 45 miles from the Coppermine River.

Dr John Richardson who led the eastern detachment of Franklin's second expedition in the summer of 1826, mentions one of these places in *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea*. He and a young naval officer named Kendall, whose name was given to the river we had just ascended, had recently abandoned their boats, *Dolphin* and *Union*. They began the ascent of the Coppermine River and were travelling overland towards Great Bear Lake when they came to the Dismal Lakes. Richardson wrote: 'In endeavouring to get round the south end of a small chain of lakes, which lay in our route, we were stopped by a narrow stream about six feet deep, flowing from them towards the Coppermine River; but, on sounding the lake a

At the confluence of the Kendall and Coppermine Rivers.

A view of the second camp, looking west towards the third Dismal Lake.

Late afternoon: a view of the second lake.



Moss campion and lousewort.

Bruce Koci

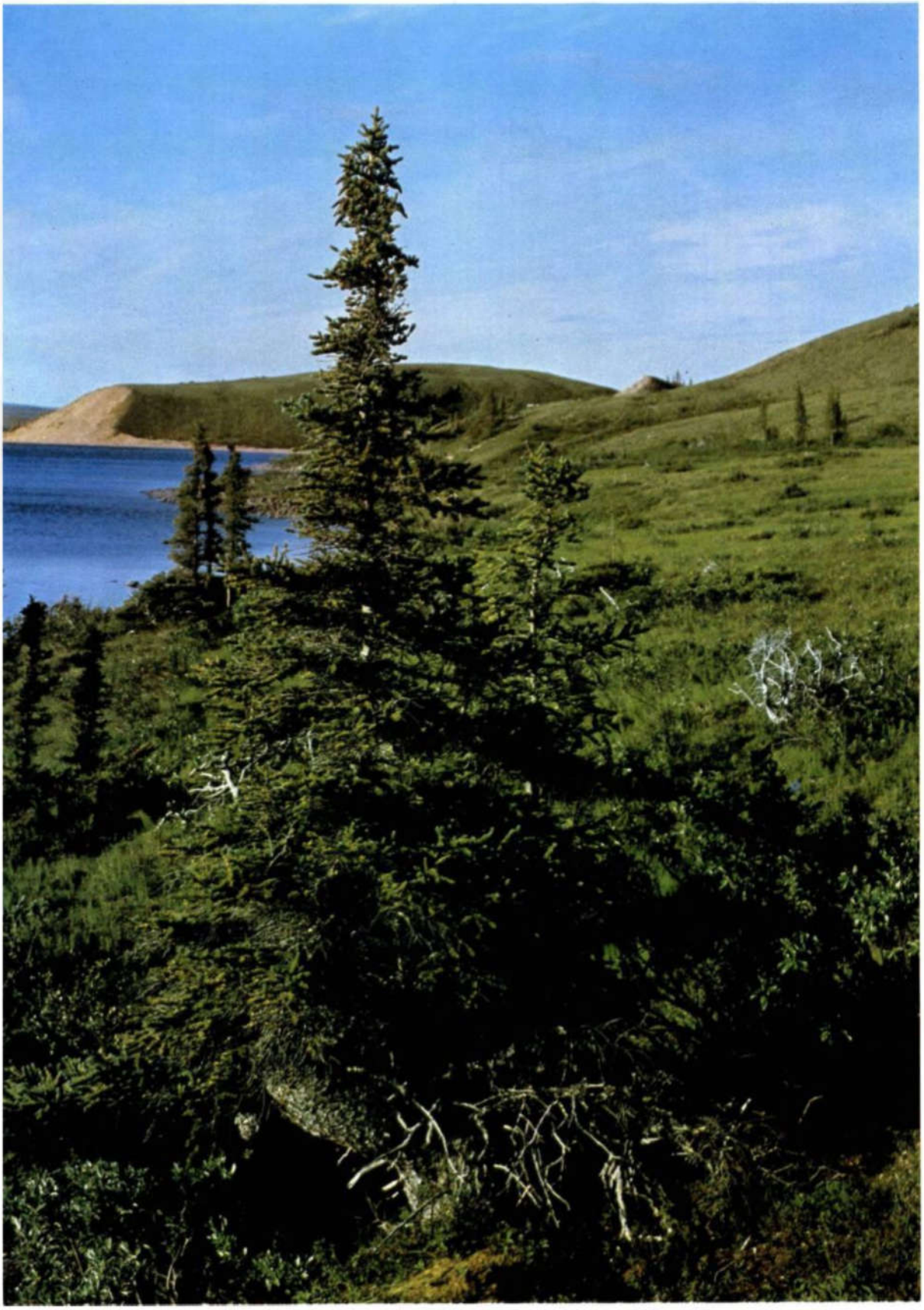
A young rough-legged hawk in the nest.

little way from the head of the stream we found that it was fordable without difficulty. . . . It is probably this river, and chain of lakes, that the Indians ascend from the Coppermine River in canoes to the height of land which they cross on their route to Bear Lake.'

Thomas Simpson came upon the western end of the lakes 12 years later in March 1838 while on a survey of the country north of Great Bear Lake. He was searching for the most practicable route for the transport of their boats and supplies overland to Coronation Gulf to further his explorations of the arctic coastline. In the subsequent report prepared by Simpson and Peter Warren Dease for the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company that year they used the adjective 'dismal' in reference to the lakes: 'A height of land of six miles conducts to a chain of dismal lakes, thirty miles in length, winding in a south-easterly direction through a narrow cleft in a low range of primitive rocks which produce not a tree or shrub and seem unfrequented by any living creature.' The next time Simpson referred to the lakes — in his book *Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Coast of America,* they were the 'Dismal Lakes'.

Several travellers visited the area around the turn of the century; the most notable were David T. Hanbury and George M. Douglas who wrote of their experiences in *Sport and Travel in the Northland of Canada* and *Lands Forlorn* respectively. Both were attracted to the Dismal Lakes. Hanbury, the first to actually canoe the lakes, was even slightly annoyed that the lakes had been given what he felt was an inappropriate title and preferred to call them by their native name 'Teshierpi'. Douglas accompanied by, among others, John Hornby and a geologist interested in doing some work in the area of the nearby Coppermine Mountains, wrote in his book, 'There is in fact something curiously attractive about all that country at the eastern end of the Dismal Lakes, an attraction that we had felt the summer before and which Hanbury seems to have experienced no less than ourselves'.

In July 1970, the Dismal Lakes were glassy calm coming in from the eastern end. We passed the first narrows into the second of the three lakes and made camp on the south shore of the lake at the base of an 800-foot-high, rounded knob called Teshierpi Mountain on the maps. It and the stream flowing past it retain the name that once applied to the lakes themselves. It was our first campsite totally beyond the tree-line and seemed to fit Simpson's description of 'producing not a tree or shrub'. For the next several days we endured weather which was indeed dismal, as cold wind and drizzle came out of the north to pin us down to our exposed campsite. From our tents, we watched as low-lying cloud streamed over Teshierpi Mountain.



Spruce trees on south-facing slopes: the north shore of the second Dismal Lake.

When the weather began to clear, we found many small tundra flowers in full bloom not far from our camp. Not just one kind but patches of many different varieties — lupine, louseworts, moss campion, Lapland rhododendron, and others which we had not seen elsewhere on our trip — dotted the tundra with purples, yellows, blues, and whites.

The wind finally calmed down enough on the second evening to allow us to cross to the north side of the lake where we made camp in the shelter of a larger esker. This campsite obviously had been well used. Besides several conspicuous tent rings, there were piles of caribou bones littering the area. Campsites on the Dismal Lakes were mentioned in the *Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18: The Copper Eskimos*, by Diamond Jenness. He quoted a Mr K. G. Chipman, one of the topographers for the expedition, who described the area:

> Old camp sites are very numerous on the north side of Dismal lake, particularly at the "narrows", and it is there where both fish and caribou are numerous that they get the supply of fall skins for clothing.

Besides hunting and fishing the Eskimos would also come to this area in the summer to look for copper and to procure wood:

> In the valley of the Kendall river, which connects Dismal lake with the Coppermine, there is abundant timber, and at the east and west ends of Dismal lake there is a small amount. The balance of the shore of Dismal lake is said to be destitute of trees except for a small clump in a cirque-like basin near the "Narrows."

Whether we were camped in the exact spot referred to as the 'Narrows' in both of these quotations I was unable to ascertain. It was more probable that this was the second narrows about three miles to the west of us which we did not see, for we went no further than the second lake.

We did have trees at this campsite, however. Here on the south-facing slopes were the twisted, gnarled trunks of spruce trees; some were eight to ten inches thick at the base but only managing to shoot spindly trunks upwards in the air perhaps five or six feet.

In all probability we were camped at the spot where George Douglas camped on his return from the Coppermine River called in *Lands Forlorn*, Glacier Cover. That traveller, having been prevented from fording the Dismal Lakes at the first narrows due to high water, had come to this spot to find enough wood to raft their supplies out to the steadily weakening ice in order to cross the lake before it finally broke up completely.

Also at the time of the Canadian Arctic Expedition the Copper Eskimos would trade with Indians or white men at or near Great Bear Lake:

> The generally accepted route of travel on the Coppermine is to go up the west side of the river for some indefinite distance, usually twenty to forty miles, then strike southwest for Dismal Lake (Tasirpik) and then south to Lake Rouvier (Imernek) and west to Great Bear Lake (Imaryuak).

This is approximately the same route, only in reverse, which many of the early explorers in this region used to get from Great Bear Lake to Coronation Gulf to the north-east.

The Inuit still come to the lakes to fish in the summertime as we discovered. We were awakened one morning by the sound of a motor as a man and his two sons pulled up to our camp. From what we could gather he had come the 60 miles overland from Coppermine in the spring to fish during the summer months and would not return to the settlement until fall.

From our second camp we spent several days exploring the country north of the Dismal Lakes on foot, a pleasure often missed on a canoe trip of any length. The country here is green, rolling terrain broken by a series of sharp ridges dropping off precipitously on the south side and sloping more gradually towards the north. It is mostly high ground which is an extension of the basalt terraces which form the Coppermine Mountains just to the east.

About half-way up one of these south-facing cliffs we discovered a rough-legged hawk's nest with five downy baby hawks sprawled about in it. Fortunately for us, as we were photographing the nest from the top of the cliff, the parents flew off and made no attempt to defend their helpless brood beyond a few high-pitched cries. This was in striking contrast to the pesky arctic terns we had encountered a few days previously on the Coppermine River; the birds had repeatedly bombed us as we tried to approach their unprotected nests. We were thankful that a bird the size of a hawk did not have the instincts of the diminutive arctic tern.

On walks across the tundra, we passed a number of large ground-squirrel colonies. We amused ourselves at those dwellings by quietly sitting down in the middle of a number of entrances and watching as the fuzzy little creatures popped up from one hole and then another to view us.

Surprisingly we saw no caribou during our visit to the Dismal Lakes. In fact, we had seen more moose than caribou thus far on the Coppermine River. On our last day at the lake a lone wolf trotted along the shoreline as we paddled off.

The lake was calm once again when we began retracing our steps back to the Coppermine River. The Kendall River which took us two days to come up took us less than six hours to descend. We had spent five days on the lakes that Thomas Simpson had described as 'dismal' over a century ago. Our feeling on leaving them was much the same as David Hanbury's had been. He wrote: 'we all regretted leaving Teschi-er-pi or Dismal Lake. It certainly did not appear 'dismal' to us but quite the reverse.' ◆

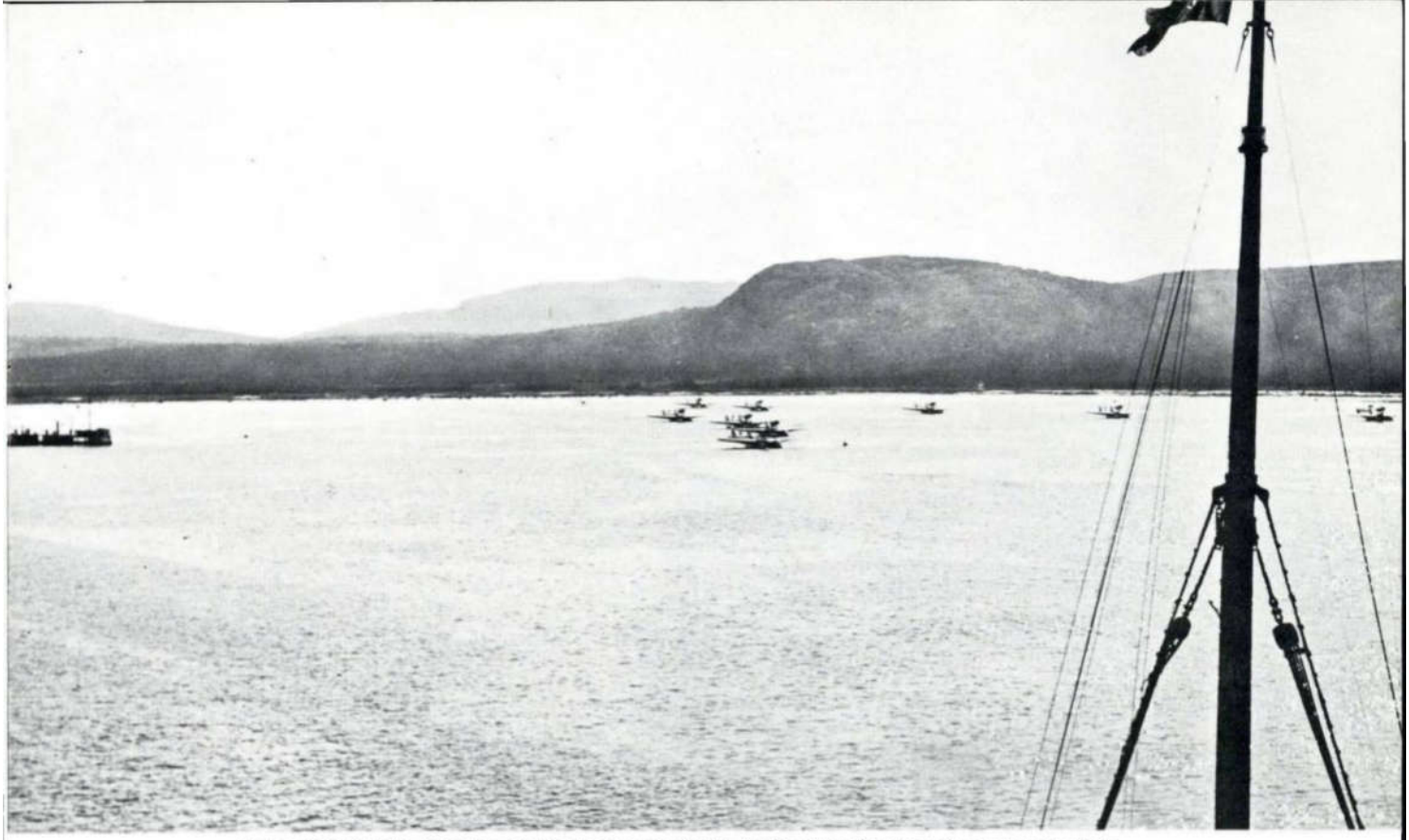
Max Sauer

MEMORIES OF MUDDY BAY

BY W. O. DOUGLAS

The author William Osborn Douglas died on 23 June 1978, at the age of 83. His long association with the Canadian Arctic dates back to 1913 and his years with the Royal North West Mounted Police, mainly in the Chesterfield Inlet area of the Central Arctic. He joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1923, and served at Repulse Bay and Baker Lake. The articles and photographs that he contributed to THE BEAVER are a valuable record of life in the Arctic in the 1920s and 1930s.

W. O. Douglas with a young silver fox. In this article he tells of his experiences at the Company's fox farm at Muddy Bay. Later he moved to Winnipeg to supervise the experimental fur farm at Bird's Hill.



A view of Cartwright, Labrador, during the summer of 1933. In this view taken from the crow's-nest of the 'Nascopie' are a number of amphibian planes from General Balbo's Italian air fleet.

WHEN THE FUR TRADE DEPARTMENT of the Hudson's Bay Company was giving some consideration to entering the fur-breeding business, I was sent to Prince Edward Island in the spring, 1930, to confer with Colonel Danny McKinnon, a leading authority on fur-farm operations. It was on Prince Edward Island in 1894, that the first farm-bred silver fox was born. The industry quickly developed into a lucrative business; thousands of dollars were paid for a breeding pair.

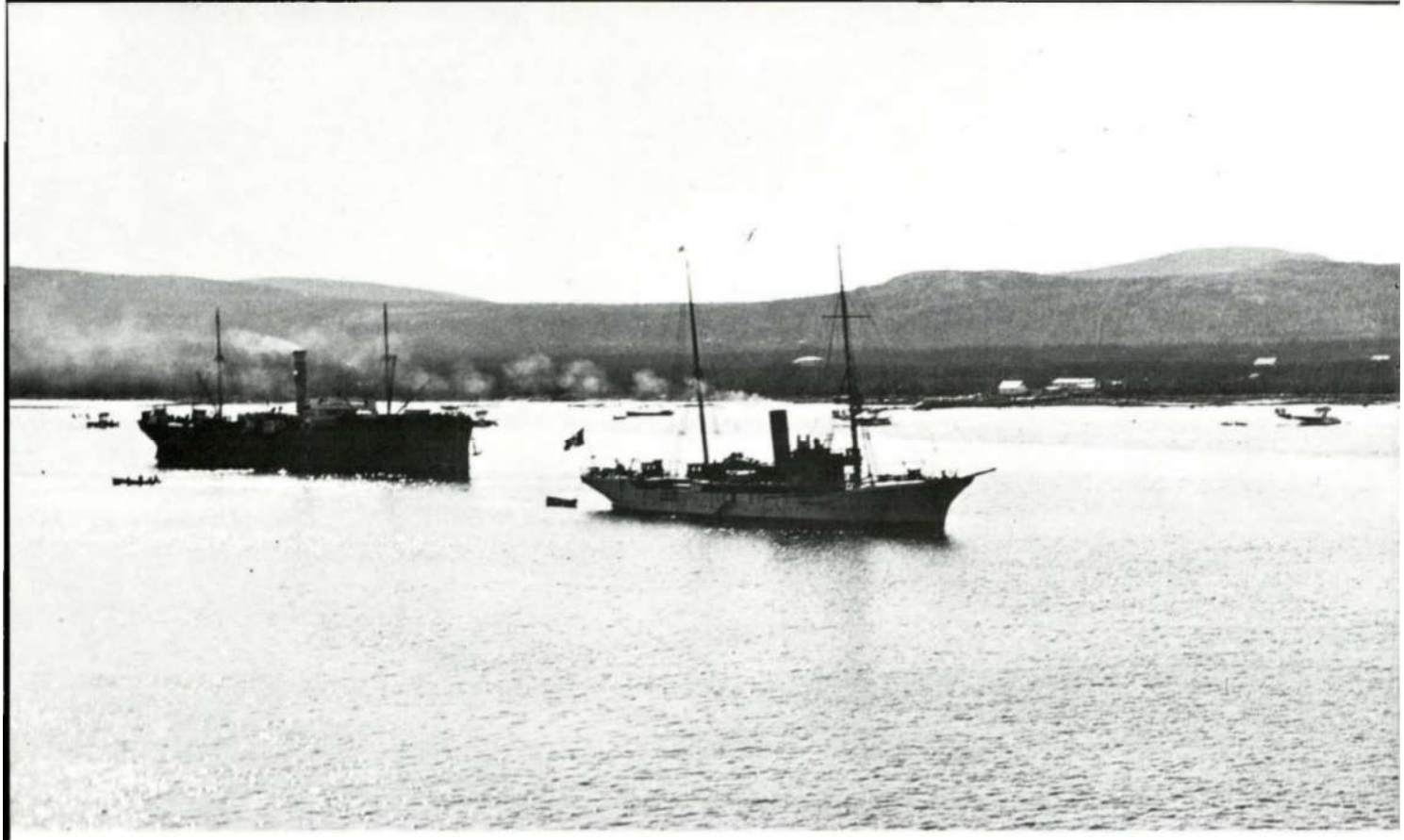
The silver fox, a mutation from the red fox family, gained universal approval; it was followed by the Scandinavian platinum fox and other colour variations. The fur industry was calling for more and more variations in furs and the geneticists were working on the mutation theory with the wild mink in mind. The male mink in the wilds was known to be promiscuous, which made the grading of pelts rather complicated, due to wide variations in size and colour.

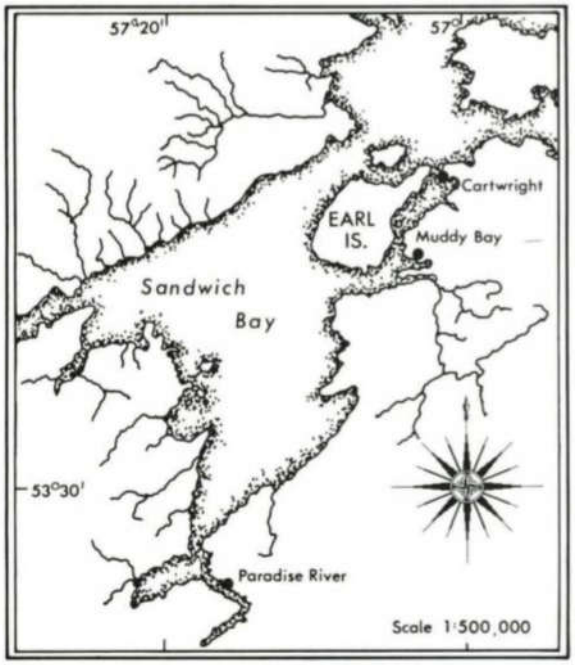
However, my visit to Prince Edward Island in 1930 concerned foxes more than mink. I received instructions to proceed to Muddy Bay near Cartwright, Labrador, where the Company had purchased a fox farm from the Grenfell Association. Muddy Bay was a picturesque location, but too far removed from the village of Cartwright for the association's use. The buildings consisted of a fine bungalow and several good outbuildings.

I arrived at Muddy Bay early in the season by a devious route from Prince Edward Island, in and around Newfoundland. I was well pleased with the set-up of the farm, although the feed house was some distance away from the animals. Being an old arctic hand, I immediately thought of a dog-team. On second thought, however, I settled for a Torbay pony which did the work very well and was less expensive to keep. I examined the foxes and found nothing wrong with them that a change in their all-fish diet would not correct. The cost of importing food from Quebec City and Montreal was prohibitive, so I set out a few salmon nets, and cooked the fish with cereal. This balance in the diet was necessary to improve the quality of the pelts.

Coming as I did from a farm background in England, I had always been attracted to animals. I got in touch with my friend Danny McKinnon who sent me two fine sows, and fifteen English Dorking and Game cross-breed hens. From the Grenfell Mission at St Anthony, Newfoundland, I bought two goats. It took a little time to get accustomed to goat's milk, but it was excellent for several purposes.

I now had a farm of sorts at Muddy Bay. Besides the fur-bearers, I had the basis in the hens and sows for





obtaining fresh eggs and meat. Then one day a report came to me that the Norwegian whalers who had a station on an island some six miles from Cartwright, had brought a wild boar from Europe. This, I thought, was my opportunity to breed my sows and get a few young pigs which would be appreciated by the people living around the bays in the vicinity of Cartwright. I made a proposal to the captain in charge of the whaling station that I bring a brood sow to the island. He suggested instead that I take the boar back to Muddy River and I agreed to this. It then dawned on me that this was indeed a wild boar and that I would somehow have to capture it, since it was running loose. The idea of capturing the animal caused great hilarity amongst the Norwegian seamen; I heard that they were looking forward to some entertainment when I and my assistant J. B. Rennie set about to cage the animal.

The island where the whalers were stationed was not large. Whenever the boar approached the station the children and dogs would drive him off. As a result the animal was reduced to eating any scraps of whale meat that he could find at night. I caught a glimpse of him once; he was a magnificent animal with two tusks jutting out from his lower jaw. We built a cage in such a way that some of the boards protruded to serve as handles for carrying the crate. It was complete with a drop-type door which would fall into place when the

A continuation of the view of Cartwright Harbour. The ship in the foreground is the Italian yacht 'Alicia'. The schooner on the left carries fuel for the Lindbergh plane on its flight around the world.

boar was inside. We set the wooden cage up on a well-used path. Then we mustered all the children we could and asked them to beat on cans and make as much noise as possible. With their help we managed to steer the boar into the cage. Unfortunately he went right through it, taking one end with him. I was not spared the laughter of the crew who were standing by expecting something like this to happen. The whaling captain was most sympathetic. Did we want some help to carry our crate back to our boat?

I then asked the captain if he had any whale line which I could weave into a strong net arrangement to cover the crate. He had and gladly gave it to me. We repaired the cage, wove a net of about four-inch mesh over the crate, placed it in another location and started out after the boar again. Once we had him inside, the drop door functioned perfectly and the wild boar of Labrador fussed, fumed, pawed and roared to no avail. We had him imprisoned.

It took all the help we could muster on the island to get the crate with the boar inside to the waiting boat. When we arrived at Muddy Bay it was low tide and we could not get near the wharf. We then opened the back door of the cage, gave the boar a few taps on the nose and he backed out. Instead of making for the beach, however, he started to swim out into the bay. We hastily manned a dory and went after him. Another couple of taps on the nose turned him in the right direction. He headed for the shore and charged out of the water. The yard gate had been left open as it had been our intention to have four men carry the crate inside. The boar headed straight for the open gate, scattering the women and children who had come to watch his arrival. With incredible agility for such a heavy animal he cleared the yard fence from the inside like a horse in a show ring, and we heard him crashing off through the surrounding woods. (Strangely enough, although he did clear the fence from inside the yard several times, he never reversed this procedure.)

In order to get near him we had to leave the yard gate open and hope that he would venture in. We tried leaving food out but it went untouched until we substituted meat and fish, which he ate. In time, however, he became tame. One day we found him, scarred and bleeding, lying in the yard. It must have been the work of a bear since no other animal could have mauled him so badly.

This seemed to draw him closer to us and before long he was eating with the sows from the same feed trough. I soon segregated the animals leaving the most promising brood sow with the wild boar.

In due course we had a litter of eleven; the sow proved to be a good mother and we had no losses. The litter was raised on a fast-growing diet. They got to know that I carried some feed checkers in my pockets

and they would follow me, expecting to be given an occasional treat.

In the meantime I had arranged to trade off my wild boar. At the bottom of the bay there was a sawmill at a place called Paradise. The Grenfell people had been enthusiastic over the wonderful black loam that could be found at some locations, particularly at Paradise. I made a deal with the manager of the sawmill there to exchange the boar for a scowload of black loam. The loam would make an excellent garden and provide all the vegetables needed; so it was arranged. I raised several broods of chicks and caponized all the young roosters. This Dorking-Game cross-breed is called in England 'the ten pound bird with the five pound breasts'. What with chickens, plenty of fresh eggs, and of course goat's milk, we were all set for winter. The pork I had for my own use was delicious. I smoked the hams in a converted puncheon, using an old English recipe. The pigs that I sold were put on a special diet to improve the flavour of the pork.

The area trappers were now preparing for the opening of the season. Their territory produced the excellent EB [Eskimo Bay] type of mink and I was determined to run an experiment with them. I knew that if the dreams of the fur industry were to be realized we would need good basic mink stock to experiment with. There had been much talk of dominant and recessive types leading to possible mutations. But nature could not accomplish this with animals in a free and wild state. It required animals in captivity to produce the results that might be expected from careful breeding.

A few trappers were in agreement with my scheme and I promised them double the pelt price, plus a bonus of a bottle of rum. I supplied them with eighteen-inch snare wire but soon ran out of it. I wrote to the head office in Winnipeg, informed them of my scheme and requisitioned a supply of mink snare wire. I got a fast reply; my order for snare wire was cancelled, and it was inferred that I must be out of my mind if I thought that 'scruffy' snared mink could command as high a price as the fine wild-mink pelts coming in from fur-purchasing agencies across Canada. There was also the suggestion that my 'bonus' could be construed as trading liquor for furs. I had no alternative but to charge my personal account with the cost of buying the mink, which had begun to arrive.

In the summer, 1933, along with my farming and fur-ranching activities, it was my privilege to welcome on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company several distinguished visitors. The people of Cartwright had seen such vessels as the Royal Navy survey ship which was charting the Labrador Coast; the *Blue Peter*, the refrigerator ship which processed the fast-frozen brands of salmon then sailed directly from Cartwright to London, England; and of course the Hudson's Bay Company supply vessels. However, when the beautiful

Fur Trade Commissioner Ralph Parsons on board the 'Nascopie' as she left from Montreal 8 July 1933.

yacht *Alicia* arrived from Italy to grace the Cartwright Harbour there was a flurry of excitement. The yacht was painted white, she had brass fittings and all the sailors were in white uniforms. In the evening she was lighted from stem to stern, with a band playing and men and women in white evening dress parading the deck. The following day General Balbo arrived with his flight of twenty-three amphibian aircraft on the way to the Chicago World's Fair. Cartwright was the first refuelling stop after the trans-Atlantic crossing. One aircraft had crashed on take-off in Germany.

The visitors were extremely kind to the Cartwright people and staged a reception to which all were invited. It was held in the Grenfell Association building. Catering was done by the yacht's chef and his staff, and wine flowed freely. A decorative archway built by the yacht's crew marked the entrance to the building and a large picture of Benito Mussolini hung on the wall. This painting was left in the building and was later destroyed when the building burned.

There was a constant going and coming to and from the yacht, the shore, and the aircraft anchored in the bay. The local fishermen were plied with more wine than was good for them. The voluble, gesturing Italian airmen fascinated the local people who began to imitate them. So much wine was flowing that some of us had serious doubts as to whether or not this air armada would reach Chicago.

Our next visitors were the Charles Lindberghs, who were to refuel at Muddy Bay before taking off on their globe-circling flight. The schooner bringing in the fuel had engine trouble and this caused a delay of several

The mink pens at the Bird's Hill Fur Farm where W. O. Douglas raised prize-winning animals.

days. I had been instructed to extend every courtesy to the Lindberghs. When the plane landed I rowed out, introduced myself and said that if there was anything we could do for them that it would be our pleasure.

Anne Lindbergh was a charming person who mixed well with the people but I cannot say the same about her husband. Every courtesy was extended, a small Company hotel with a staff was placed at their disposal, but when the time came for their departure I had yet to shake Lindbergh's hand or hear one word of appreciation from him for all that had been done. In his book, published later, he wrote 'Owing to engine trouble our schooner was late on arrival at Cartwright. I was bored at having to wait in this sleepy small village on the Labrador Coast'.

When the *Nascopie* arrived, Major David Livingston McKeand, the senior government official on board, and Ralph Parsons, the Company's Fur Trade Commissioner, paid me a visit at Muddy Bay. After inspecting the foxes the Commissioner asked me about the mink that I had bought from the local trappers. The animals were housed in gasoline tins that had been left to us by General Balbo; they later made excellent shipping containers. I joked with the Commissioner about my 'scruffy' mink, which had all been charged to my personal account. Then I showed him the results of the breeding: five lovely, healthy kits. Finally, when the ship was on a short anchor chain and ready to depart, the Commissioner shook my hand, asked me to charge my personal expenses incurred in buying the mink to the Company, and to ship the mink to Winnipeg. When I questioned him about the interest in mink he acknowledged that he had been told that John Blackwell, the Cartwright Post Manager, had received an inquiry for live mink. At that time there was a growing interest in mink; the fur magazines carried numerous articles and comments.

My work at Muddy Bay would be complete when I had shipped the live mink by the coastal steamer *Kyle*, the link with Newfoundland. In all I had purchased 73 live mink from trappers. I prepared feeding instructions and saw that there was enough food for them until they reached Winnipeg.

I generally named my mink after the men I bought them from. One large outstanding male, named for Jimmy Williams of North River, had been bred to several females in the one season. His progeny were outstanding. In a live shipment I sent to a mink farm in England I pointed out the potential of one small male. My judgement was correct. Jimmy Williams Jr won the championship in his class at a show held in Hudson's Bay House, London.

From our small establishment at Muddy Bay, I soon moved to the HBC Bird's Hill Fur Farm near Winnipeg. The story of what was accomplished at Bird's Hill Farm has still to be told. Live shipments of mink were sent to European countries (to Scandinavia in particular); live shipments of fisher to Russia, several shipments to the United States, and even one live lynx to the Edinburgh Zoo. Whatever success we had with mink at Bird's Hill originated with the animals that travelled from Labrador to Winnipeg in cages fashioned from gasoline cans left at Muddy Bay by General Balbo in the summer of 1933. ◆

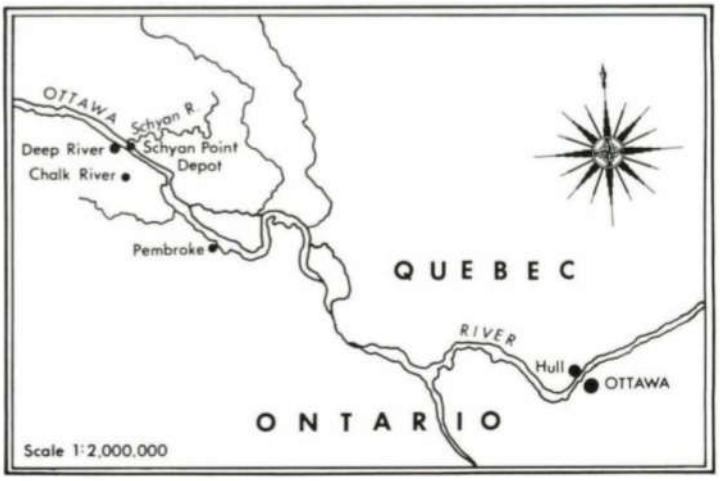
At McCool's logging camp in 1938 two stables, a hayshed and a blacksmith's shop had been constructed for the care of the horses — fourteen teams seen here with their teamsters. In the foreground is a skidway where logs were piled awaiting snow.

Logging on the Schyan 1938-39

By Brenda Lee-Whiting

Although the author earned her Ph.D. in microbiology, for the past 18 years she has been applying her research training to the investigation of the social history of the Upper Ottawa Valley. She lives in Deep River, Ontario.

Photographs, except credited, are by an unknown photographer, taken for sale to the men in the camp.



WITH HIS USUAL DECISIVE ATTITUDE, Vernon Price retired from farming one day in 1977, with an auction sale that afternoon and an agreement to quit the premises that night. As the sale crowd gathered on his property near Beachburg in eastern Ontario, Mr Price was showing some of his visitors photographs of a logging camp where he had worked in the winter of 1938-39.

In many respects the life in that camp had changed little from the practices of the 19th century, for the cross-cut saw was still used and horses provided the motive power for many operations. Sprinkling his conversation with terms like 'groundhog', 'filer', 'jammer' and 'cookee', Mr Price vividly recalled the rugged life of the lumbermen in the 1930s, when logging camps were isolated for the winter and offered $30 to $45 a month for a six-day week of 12-hour days. Still it was a job and jobs of any sort were scarce in the Upper Ottawa Valley in the Depression.

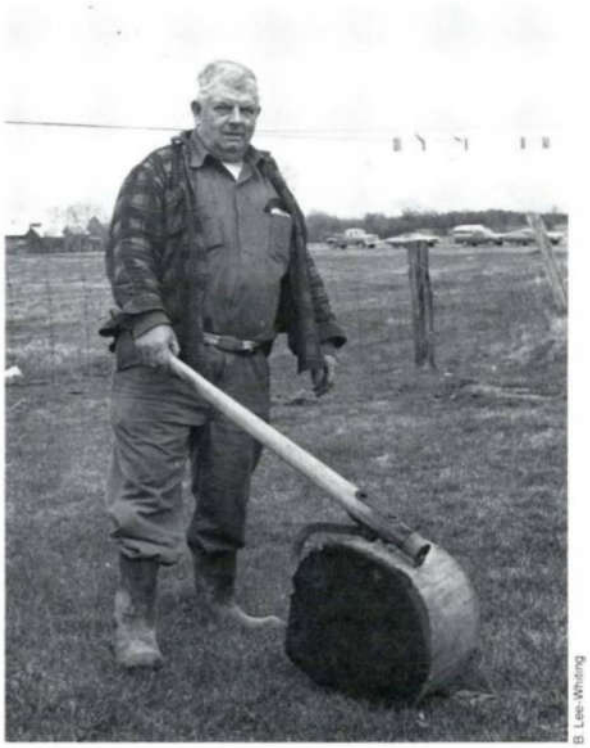
'If I was looking for work today' said Mr Price firmly, 'I wouldn't go to one of those Canada Manpower offices. I would go straight to the place of work and ask to be taken on.' That was what he did on 22 September 1938.

Acting on a gamble, Mr Price took the train to the village of Chalk River and walked five miles from there to the Ottawa River shoreline of Deep River. (Today this is the residential community of the Chalk River Nuclear Laboratories, but in 1938 it was undeveloped bush, inhabited by a few Indian families.) The Deep River Landing was the embarkation point for the supply boat that crossed the river to theDepot on the Quebec side, where the Schyan River enters the Ottawa.

Crossing in this boat, Mr Price hitched a ride on the tote wagon which took supplies in to several logging camps along the tortuous route of the Schyan River. He was hoping to get a job and he was lucky. The foremen had already hired their men in Pembroke in the late summer, but the enterprising 22-year-old was taken on by Bill McCool at a camp seven miles upriver from the Depot.

'I think that 1938 was the first year that the men were paid as much as $45 a month in Quebec' explained Mr Price. 'It was still $35 a month in Ontario. The pay included board, but you had to buy your own clothes and tobacco.'

His experience in lumber camps in 1936 and 1937 in the Sudbury area may have helped his application, for Bill McCool did not need any more employees. He already had twenty gangs of men working on the limits that had been leased by his father, Thomas McCool of Sheenboro, who was what is known as a 'jobber' — a contractor who supervised and arranged for the timber to be delivered to the sawmill, but who did not own the property himself.



B. Lee-Whiting

Vernon Price, on the day of his retirement as a farmer, showed how a cant-hook was used to grip and roll a log.

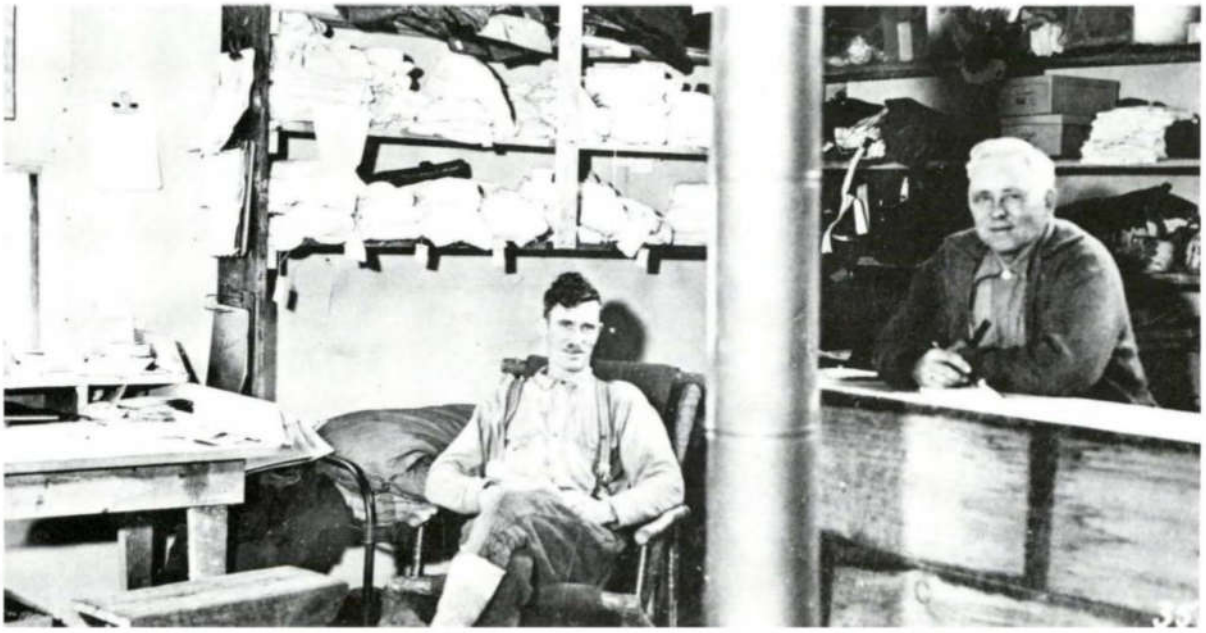
Each gang consisted of five men. Two men felled the trees and cut them into standard lengths, usually 16 feet. Two trail cutters removed the branches from the logs and cleared a path through the bush for the man who skidded the log — by steering the horses who hauled it to the nearest dump or skidway.

The farmer's son from Beachburg was not the only man to trek into the Quebec woods that fall in search of employment. A photographer, believed to have been from a studio in Pembroke, took the same route looking for work. On the weekend of 27 November, 1938, he took pictures of the men at Bill McCool's logging camp. He photographed, not just the usual group shots of men staring at the camera, but scenes of life in the camp showing the men at work in the woods and eating and washing their clothes and even praying.

Orders were taken for sets of photographs, post-card-sized, priced at $2.50 for a set of 20. When they were delivered, many of these cards were mailed to the families who did not see their menfolk for months at a time, but Mr Price, a bachelor then, kept his picture postcards as souvenirs. It was to be his last logging camp before the war, and when he returned to work in the Canadian woods after the war the chain-saw and the truck had revolutionized the lumbering industry.

In 1938 the importance of the horses, which hauled individual logs and sleighloads of lumber, was reflected in their well-built accommodation. Bill McCool's camp had four large buildings to house the

Men building a root-house, 28 November 1938. The building would be covered with earth and used to preserve food during the winter.



The foreman of the logging camp, Bill McCool, is sitting in the camp's store where clothing, boots and tobacco were sold by the clerk, Ernie Poupore.

animals, to store their feed and to provide a workshop for a blacksmith.

The root-house, which would store food for the men during the coming winter, was still under construction on 28 November. Like the other buildings, this shed was built with logs that had not been squared (no time for that) and the whole structure would be covered with earth to increase insulation. Though there would be an 'ice road' across the Ottawa River in the depths of winter, there would be periods in the late fall and early spring when the supply route could not be travelled.

The sleep camp of this era was an improvement over the dark camboose shanty of the 19th century with its open fireplace. There was no cooking in the 1938 building of 30 by 70 feet. Two wood-burning stoves in the centre provided warmth; water was boiled in pails on top of the stoves and washing or clothing damp from outside work was hung from the beams. The camp had windows and was lighted at night by oil lamps hanging from the beams.

The day started for most men at five o'clock with a hearty breakfast. At each meal in the cookery, the men lined up to take a tin plate, a knife and fork, a slice of bread and a tin tea dish with no handle.

'The food was wonderful' said Mr Price. 'The best way to describe it is to say that a person has never had a

A man hastily moves aside as a tall pine starts to fall. The tree is then divided into logs of standard length by two men on a cross-cut saw.

good meal unless he has eaten in a lumber camp. It was the best homemade bread I ever tasted.' At noon the cook and his assistants (known as cookees) would bring out the meals to the men where they worked. It was during this recess, when men and horses paused to refuel, that time was found to stamp the ends of the logs with the trademark of the owner.

The working day ended at 6 p.m. and then followed another huge meal served in the cookery. About the only sort of food that was lacking was fresh salad. The men had good appetites for the work was hard physical labour conducted in all sorts of weather.

The principal activity in the fall months was the cutting of timber, for the movement of logs went smoothly only if the swamps were frozen and the ground covered by snow. When the ground was bare, the skidding of logs to the nearest depot was a rough and bumpy ride for the man who held the reins and guided the horses around obstacles. At each depot or skidway the logs were piled tidily; every one was rolled up parallel sloping poles by a man who levered them into position with a cant-hook.

With snow on the ground, loads of these logs would be transferred by a 'jammer' to a sleigh and then hauled away to the banks of the Schyan River. The roads through the bush were not level and on the slope of hills the icy surface was treacherous for horse-drawn sleighs. To combat this danger, thawed sand had to be spread on the ice to slow down the passage of the heavy load. The sand was provided by a 'groundhog', a man whose job it was to keep a fire going at the side of the hill to thaw out sand.

Mr Price recalls that in the winter of 1938-39 the snow was very late in its arrival. Even by 1 January there was not enough snow for hauling, and when the priest came to say mass in the cookery, the owner of the timber limits, Thomas McCool, contributed $10 with his prayers for snow. His son, Bill, the foreman, was later heard to remark that $5 would have been enough, for the white stuff fell abundantly.

Sunday was a day for relaxation. The men did their washing and hung it out to dry in the bush, weather permitting. This was the day that they might find time to write a postcard. If any of their work clothes had to be replaced, such items as boots, socks and underwear could be purchased at the store, as well as tobacco.

The logging season extended from September to the end of March without a break. Many workers came from small communities such as Chapeau, Sheenboro, Chichester and Fort Coulonge, which are all in western Quebec, along the Ottawa River, and these men might travel home for Christmas. Others who came from as far away as the Gaspé Peninsula stayed the whole winter; indeed, some men were required to stay at the camp during the holiday break if only to feed the horses and maintain the buildings.

Morning mist still covered the water when these men were rolling logs onto a skidway at the river bank. The man on the right is holding a cant-hook and the teamster steadies the horses before removing the skidding tongs.

The logs that were cut on McCool's limits were destined to travel along the Schyan River to the broader reaches of the Ottawa where the timber could be boomed and towed. In order to provide sufficient current to thrust the logs along the shallow winding Schyan River, a dam was built to pen back the floods of spring. The banks of the Schyan near its estuary were raised and stabilized by timber cribs filled with stones.

The construction of the dam was a laborious undertaking. Mr Price remembers that two men and a foreman worked for three months, cutting the timbers, blasting rock for stones and then hauling it to the site with wheelbarrows. He believes that the cost of this job, mainly for labour, was $435.

During the winter months of snow the logs would have been hauled onto the ice of the Schyan or the banks, awaiting the thaw. This river was too narrow for pointer boats, so the nimble-footed 'drivers' were the last employees on the payroll; it was their job to push and pull the logs along the tributary until it met the Ottawa. Most of the lumbermen had returned to their farms by the end of March to prepare for the start of another growing season. After deductions, most of the men would go home with about $250, provided that they did not visit too many licensed establishments on the way.

Trees are still being felled along the banks of the Schyan River, but the methods of forestry and the life-style of the men who work there have changed drastically. The logs are hauled away by truck throughout the year, except for a brief period in the spring when half-load regulations are in force on the roads.

The last 'drive' of logs on the Schyan River was in the spring of 1971, according to E. R. Caldwell, manager of the Woodlands Division, Consolidated-Bathurst Ltd, the company which now harvests the trees in that area.

'Driving has not been resumed on the Schyan because the production of wood became heavily orientated towards the hardwood species' he said. 'At the same time, the improvements on the river — dams, side piers, glance booms, etc., had to be replaced, reconstruction was terrifically expensive and economically it was more rewarding to truck the softwood part way or at least as far as the Ottawa River and dump the logs rather than re-create driving facilities on the Schyan.'

Mr Caldwell estimated that the farthest distance from a logging camp to a sawmill might be as much as 400 to 500 miles. It is necessary to build roads into the bush almost to highway standards so that they can carry heavy loads. This in turn enables the workers in the woods to go home for weekends, after working a four and a half-day week that ends Friday noon. Some lumbermen commute almost nightly a distance of 100 miles. Not that they would suffer any hardship if they remained at the camp.

Refrigeration has replaced root cellars, the camps are lighted by electricity and the buildings are heated by oil or propane. (The cost of labour in handling wood for fuel is too high!)

In the 1938-39 season, a logging camp of 80 to 85 men, with the aid of horses, would work from August to February and produce from 5000 to 7000 cunits — one cunit being equivalent to 100 cubic feet of solid wood. That represents a man-day production of less than one cunit or about 400 feet board measure. By comparison, Mr Caldwell calculated that in the logging camps today the production amounts to 2500 feet board measure per man per day. The use of the chain-saw and other mechanical improvements has increased productivity, and the wages of the men have increased accordingly.

'On our Quebec operations, the average earning for a pieceworker, that is a person actually cutting wood, was a little better than $69 a day or about $1400 a month. A lumberjack of average capability can earn $15,000 a year, in a year of about ten months.'

Continuing with a comparison of 1938 and present-day logging operations, Mr Caldwell estimated that a team of horses, complete with harness and sleigh would have cost about $150 in the late years of the Depression, and a cross-cut saw would have been $2 or $3. By contrast, a modern chain-saw with its safety accessories would not be less than $350 and the skidding machine would cost about $40,000.

The timber limits on the Schyan River that were worked by McCool's camps in the late 1930s were first issued by the Crown in 1841 and have passed through the hands of at least four owners. Despite the logging of these woods intermittently over a period of 137 years, the harvest in the 20th century has actually improved in quality. Trees of large diameter do not necessarily yield the best quality wood; many of the big old pines prove to be faulty and rotten, whereas properly tended trees of smaller dimensions are straighter and have little rot or knots to spoil them.

'As far as pine sawlogs are concerned, the average diameter of the half a million feet or so that we have been cutting each year for many, many years has increased since 1925' related Mr Caldwell. Fifty years ago, the average diameter was nine inches and today it is 12 inches — the result of forest management.

At that rate the forests in western Quebec will provide a source of employment and raw material as long as there is a demand for its wood. From the 25 species cut there, Consolidated Bathurst Ltd manufactures veneer logs, sawlogs, pulpwood, poles, mining timber, ties and material for shingles.

Deciduous woods like oak and maple will always have to be trucked out of the bush, because they will not float. There is a high demand for the coniferous woods (the softwoods), even for the poor quality species, as pulpwood. Though these have been trucked as far as 500 miles to the mills, Mr Caldwell foresees the time when river driving may have to be resumed on the Schyan River, because the cost of gasoline continues to increase. ◆

Sunday was the day for doing the laundry, preferably outside if the weather was agreeable. The only pet in the camp was the foreman's dog.

When a visiting priest held mass in the cookery, most of the men took part.

Gardening on Hudson Bay
The First Century

By D. W. Moodie

Dr Moodie is a professor of geography at the University of Manitoba. *He gratefully acknowledges the Hudson's Bay Company for permission to consult, and quote from, its archives.*

FROM ITS INCEPTION in 1670 until expansion inland was begun in 1774, the Hudson's Bay Company carried on the fur trade of Rupert's Land from several small settlements located on the arctic and subarctic coastlands of Hudson Bay. Despite the hostile physical environment, agriculture became a permanent feature of the Company's settlements during this period. The most important objective was to ensure the health of the overseas servants. Initially, however, the main concern was to raise by the Bay the large and expensive volumes of provisions which otherwise had to be imported from Europe. With these two objectives in mind, garden seeds and seeds of the staple grains of England were sent out to the Bay as early as 1674. The latter, which comprised wheat, rye, barley and oats, came to no account, but the Company continued to press its overseas governors to raise the agricultural foodstuffs required on the Bay. Thus, in 1680, Governor John Nixon was apprised that:

> Wee do most earnestly recommend to you the endeavouring to ease us of the great charge wee are at in making provisions of all sorts for the Bay. This is what hath always been directed & pressed before you went, but wee could never find our expectations in any measure answered therein. But wee hope it will be done by your extraordinary care & ingenuity wch. wee do assure you will be a very acceptable service to the Company. Wee have sent you [at Moose Fort] severall sorts of seeds wch. you will find in the Invoice as wee have formerly done to enable you to make the Experiments . . .

Nixon's only success was with his turnips and coleworts, but he recommended buckwheat which he felt would succeed on the Bayside by virtue of its quickness of growth. Although this too failed, his successor, Henry Sergeant, was adjured to use his 'utmost skill and industrey for the releeveing us from the great expence we have been att in sending provissions into the Countrey which we beleeve may be done if you appley your selfe to trey in all places were we ar settled what the earth will bring forth & that you may make the experiments we have furnished, you wth. severall sorts of seeds and graynes & will continue to doe soe from yeare to yeare & shall thinke it a very meritorious worke if you effectually prosecute it.'

Despite such exhortations, these and later endeavours fell far short of rendering the settlements agriculturally self-supporting. Like an ill-fated attempt to raise flax and hemp commercially at Fort Albany in the 1690s, this policy was not prompted by any promising environmental information from the Bayside. Rather, it was spawned by the geographical theorizing and economic aspirations of the Company's directors in London. The overly sanguine view of the Bayside agricultural resource derived mainly from the idea that similar latitudes possessed similar climates. This caused the London Committee to conclude that Albany and York Factory, located at roughly the same latitudes as London and Edinburgh respectively, had climatic characteristics, and therefore an agricultural potential, akin to that of their latitudinal equivalents in Britain. Thus, despite the initial failures, the Committee continued to send out cereal seeds and implements, and even skilled farm workers, in the hope of rendering their settlements agriculturally self-sufficient. Not until the seventeenth century was out did they abandon this *a priori* approach to the Bayside agricultural potential and cease to implore their officers to raise by the Bay what the environment would not yield. The Committee, however, continued to regard gardening as an important enterprise, as is manifest in the instructions sent to Governor Fullartine at Albany in 1708.

> We doe order that you take care that the garden be fitted with all things that may be useful for the Factory, especially Turnips Carrotts Pease and Beanes, and that you order that the same be begun as soon as the Season will permit, and that this bee not omitted in any yeare on any pretence whatsoever.

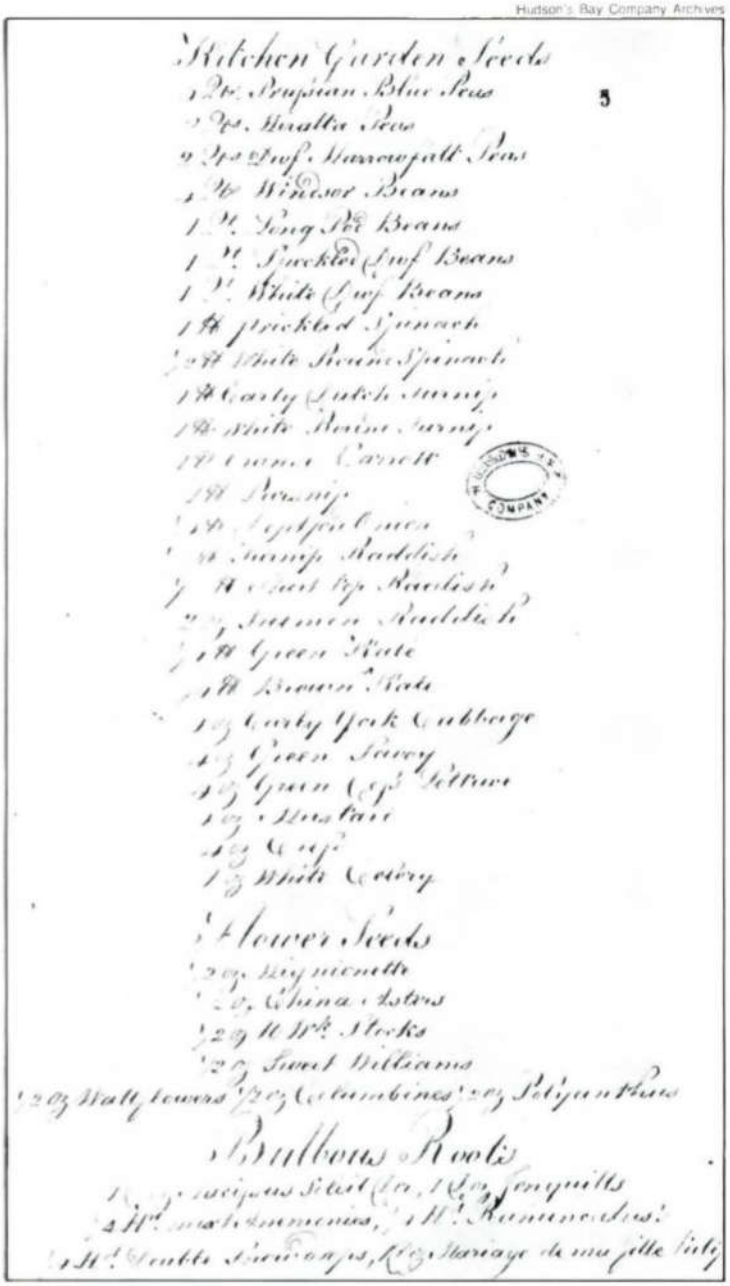
Food was a major problem which was never an easy one to solve. To as full an extent as possible, the game resources of the country, including intermittent surpluses purchased from local Cree and Chipewyan Indians, were exploited by the Company. Even so, a large proportion of the food had always to be obtained from England. Compared to European provisions and the local products of the hunt and of the fishery, the produce of the gardens at the factories contributed an almost negligible portion of the total volume of foodstuffs required on the Bay. What the products of gardening lacked in volume, however, they made up

for in kind. Their importance in this respect lay in their role in the annual regime of provisionment at the settlements on the Bay.

Since the Company endeavoured to send out a minimum of English provisions, fluctuations in the volume of country produce from season to season could cause periods of extreme want at the different settlements. 'To remedy this evil' wrote Samuel Hearne, 'it is most prudent for those in command to avail themselves of plentiful seasons, and cure a sufficient quantity of the least perishable food, particularly geese.' Salt was the main means of preserving food and, although it may seem strange from our vantage in time, no endeavour was made to refrigerate meat in summer. Salt meat, whether in the form of pork or beef barrelled in England, or geese salted on the Bay after the fall and the spring goose hunts, comprised the staple food of the Company's servants when fresh meat was unavailable. The latter was supplemented with biscuit, flour, barley, oatmeal and other dry foods from England, but meat was the mainstay of the Bayside diet. The geographer, Lewthwaite, has pointed out that 'there is reason to suspect that occupance of broad zones of marginal land had been related more to the evolution and application of systems of preservation and storage than to some other physical or cultural factors that have been pressed into geographical, historical and anthropological service.' Obviously, the technology of preservation that permitted the transport of food from Britain to the Bay, as well as the storage of both local and exotic foods against times of want, goes a long way toward explaining the viability of English settlement along the virtual wasteland that was the coast of the Bay. The nature of this stored resource also explains in large measure the persistence of agriculture at the Company's settlements, despite the almost insuperable environmental obstacles to its practice.

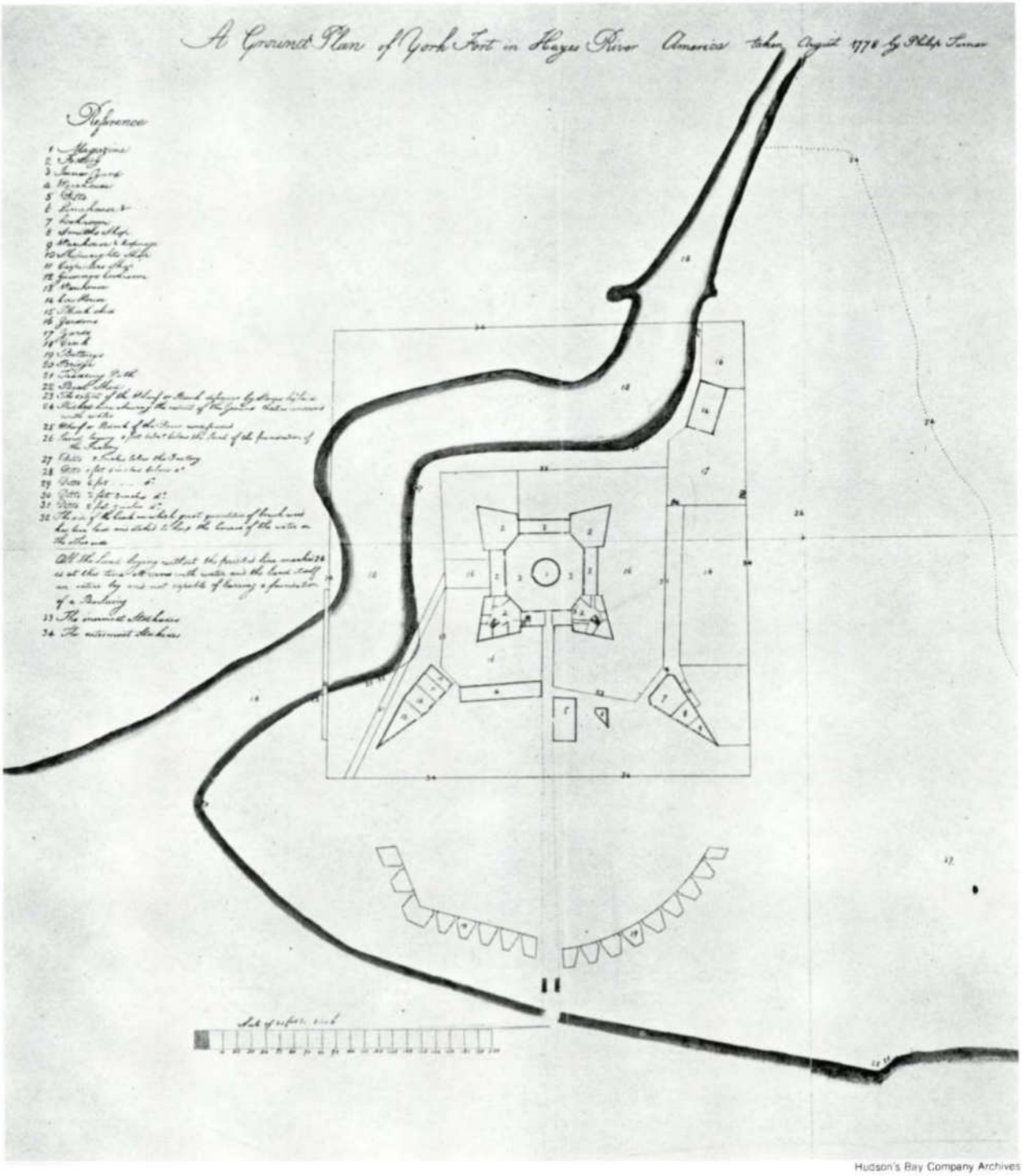
Very important in the winter diet on the Bay was the fresh meat afforded by grouse, ptarmigan, rabbits, caribou, deer and frozen fish. The fresh meat contributed to protecting the men from scurvy, which Thomas Gorst, who kept the accounts of the Company's maiden expedition to Rupert's Land, was quick to perceive as the 'onely dangerous disease'. In summer, however, when the fishing was poor, when the coveys of grouse and ptarmigan had dispersed and when the geese and the caribou had departed for the northern tundra, the Company's men were most dependent upon their preserved provisions. This was the season when garden greens were most necessary to the health of the men. Meat, even in the raw form, is not the best provider of ascorbic acid or vitamin C and, when spring arrived, the potential for scurvy was already high at the settlements on the Bay.

Hudson's Bay Company Archives


Kitchen Garden Seeds
1 Pt. Prussian Blue Peas 5
2 Pts. Gradia Peas
2 Pts 2 Sup. Marrowfatt Peas
1 Pt Windsor Beans
1 Pt. Long Pd Beans
1 Pt. Speckled Sup. Beans
1 Pt. White Sup. Beans
1 Pt Prickled Spinach
1 Pt White Round Spinach
1 Pt Early Dutch Turnip
1 Pt. White Round Turnip
1 Pt Orange Carrott
1 Pt Parsnip
1 Pt Lettuce Onion
1 Pt Turnip Radish
1 Pt Short Top Radish
1 Pt Salmon Radish
1 Pt Green Kale
1 Pt Brown Kale
1 Oz Early York Cabbage
1 Oz Green Savoy
1 Oz Green Cap Lettuce
1 Oz Hotspur
1 Oz Cap
1 Oz White Cosbry
Flower Seeds
2 Oz Virginella
2 Oz China Asters
2 Oz 10 Wks Stocks
2 Oz Sweet Williams
2 Oz Wall flowers 2 Oz Columbines 2 Oz Polyanthus
Bulbous Roots
[illegible]

List of Kitchen Garden Seeds: Churchill Factory Indent for 1803.

The gardens are marked '16' in this 1778 ground plan of York Fort by Philip Turnor. Some of the vegetables were started indoors and then transplanted to areas reserved for the vegetable gardens. In 1752 at York, carrots, onions, lettuce, parsley, turnips, cabbages and coleworts were put away for winter use. The men regarded their garden vegetables as 'the best preventative against scurvy', and on occasion gave surplus supplies to ships' crews returning to England.



Hudson's Bay Company Archives

The vegetable gardens at York Factory. From an 1880 photograph by Robert Bell, Geological Survey of Canada.

With the opening of spring, the Company's men availed themselves of the first wild greens, such as dandelions and nettles, as their best defence against scurvy. The wild plants were followed by the earliest productions from the gardens, such as mustard sprouts and greens and radish tops, and subsequently by others so that the gardens offered a limited, but more or less constant supply of vegetables, and especially greens, to supplement the heavy salt meat diet of summer. Thus William Wales, the astronomer sent out in 1768 by the Royal Society to observe the transit of Venus across the sun, described 'very fine radishes' at Churchill in early July and remarked that, at that time, the turnip tops were large enough 'to boil for greens for our beef and salt geese.'

Although other remedies were also tried, scurvy was never eradicated at the Bayside establishments. Besides the dandelions and nettles mentioned, a variety of berries were also gathered during the summer. Even in the arctic surrounds of Churchill, several types of berries grew with alacrity in the long summer days, including gooseberries, cranberries, and blueberries. Currants and strawberries were especially valuable in this context because of their high ascorbic acid content. Cranberries grew in such profusion at Churchill that they were stored at the factory in barrels of moistened sugar and were frequently sent to England packed in this manner or in barrels of water. In winter, beer was consumed as an antiscorbutic at all the settlements. Spruce beer was considered a useful antiscorbutic in winter, although boiling the spruce tips destroyed most of the vitamin C content. When Captain Middleton wintered at Churchill in the late 1740s, he remarked that 'spruce beer and brandy' are 'the only means used here to prevent scurvy'. However, in referring to the men who were ailing, he also wrote that 'In the spring of the year we shall supply them with green herbs — the best remedy known here for scurvy.'

Although the discovery of antiscorbutics has been attributed to Dutch sailors in the sixteenth century, it was not until the Scottish naval surgeon, James Lind, began his experiments in 1747 that scurvy was proven to be caused by dietary deficiencies. During the eighteenth century a variety of foods in addition to fresh fruits and vegetables were considered to possess antiscorbutic qualities and some of these remedies were tried from time to time on the Bay. In 1785, for example, the London Committee sent out 'some casks of Sour Crout, Pale Malt for Wort and an additional quantity of Scotch Barley to prevent attacks of Scurvy.' The sauerkraut was popular, not only because Lind recommended it as an antiscorbutic from the practice of the Dutch navy, but because it was said to be George III's favourite vegetable, which afforded it a certain esteem in Britain at the time. In 1791 the Committee sent out 'eight casks of Essence of Malt . . . with Directions for Using it'. The latter was described as 'in general use in our Navy and East India Company meets with the most Distinguished

approbation and is esteemed the best remedy for the Sea and Land Scurvy ever discovered.' The men on the Bay, however, continued to regard their gardens as 'the best preventative against scurvy.' Even during the nineteenth century, when orange and lime juice were regularly sent to the Bay as antiscorbutics, the gardens continued to play this role, although they were no longer as crucial in this context as before.

The greatest obstacles to gardening were encountered in the arctic and near arctic environs of the settlements of York, Churchill and Severn. Andrew Graham, who served as an officer at each of these northern settlements, described gardening there as follows:

> We have gardens round the factories, which by care and manuring turn out very well particularly on the south side, but it is the month of June before the ground is thawed sufficient for digging and sowing. They produce excellent lettuce, cresses, radishes, onions, spinach, coleworts, turnips, pease, beans. Parsley purslane, celery, carrots, parsnips and several other kinds of seeds are sown annually but with very little success.

Although listed by Graham as regular crops, peas and beans were never reliable at these northern settlements. Only rarely did the pods fill, although as greens they were always of use in the mess. Even at York, Edward Umfreville observed that they 'so seldom come to any kind of perfection that they are esteemed a kind of luxury.' The vegetables that did succeed were cultivated on largely man-made soils under special conditions. James Isham, who was chief at York, wrote that:

> its . . . to be observed we have pease, cabbage, turnips & Sallets at York fort, but then its to be consider'd where these Seads Grows is to the Southwd. and close under the fort Shelter'd from the W. & N. Et. Winds, for if we Sow any Seeds open or clear of Shelter Such Seeds will come up, but such plants, or herbs wither's and comes to no perfection.

The gardens at York comprised scattered patches of land located within the fortifications. The sheltered nature of these gardens is well illustrated on Philip Turnor's 'Ground Plan of York Fort' drawn in 1778. The same considerations for shelter and aspect were incorporated into the cultural practices at Churchill where, although not located within the confines of the fort, the gardens were enclosed with stockades. Some of the vegetables were cultured indoors or in sheltered locations before being transplanted in the gardens, and the journals at both posts frequently refer to transplanting turnips, cabbages and 'greens'. Attempts were also made to improve the soil at both establishments. Stones were cleared from the gardens at Churchill and, from time to time earth was transported to the cultivated patches at both places. During the latter part of this period, when livestock were present at York, Churchill and Severn, dung was employed to improve the gardens.

Gardening at the northern settlements was conducted on a limited scale. Joseph Robson estimated that less than two acres were cultivated at York and Churchill. Turnor's plan shows about half an acre devoted to gardens at York which, if all the cultivated ground is shown, would suggest that the gardens at Churchill were more extensive. This would appear to have been the case, for in 1769 one garden at Churchill enclosed about an acre of ground, and at least three different gardens were cultivated at this time. The introduction of draft animals to Churchill in the 1730s to assist in the construction of Fort Prince of Wales facilitated cultivating larger areas, while the larger complement of men and heavier dependence upon European provisions would have been strong incentives for gardening on a larger scale.

Unfortunately, the post journals rarely contain garden yields and the earliest useful enumeration at Churchill was in 1789: 'the produce of our garden this year, green pease 2 gallons, turnips 36 bushels, and a good quantity of Colworts, radishes and lettuces.' The most dependable and most important vegetables at York, as at Churchill, were turnips and coleworts. Radishes, lettuce and other greens were important in the earlier part of summer. Vegetables planted more frequently than at Churchill, and generally with more success, were peas, beans, cabbages and carrots. A list of vegetables grown at different times at York would also include parsnips, celery, spinach, cress, mustard, parsley, horse-radishes, onions, purslane, cucumbers and sorrel. Although conditions varied from year to year, a variety of vegetables were sometimes taken up for winter use. In 1751, for example, carrots, onions and parsnips were put away for winter. The following year, which was more exceptional, carrots, onions, lettuce, parsley, turnips, cabbages and coleworts were retained for winter use. In 1760, the amounts were listed as follows: 'took up for winter stock 31 Bushell of Turnips, and further one good cart load of savoys, and colewords.' The potato, which was later to prove so useful at some of the Bayside posts, was not tried at York during this period. The first mention of potatoes at York was in 1778, at which time '20 pounds' were harvested at the post. Potatoes were first planted at Churchill in 1768 or 1769 by Andrew Graham, who 'brought them to a bigness of a hen's egg.'

Since only slightly milder climatic conditions prevailed at the southern settlements of Moose and Albany on James Bay, much the same array of vegetables was planted at these posts as at York and Churchill. The main difference was that the garden stuff at Albany and Moose matured more frequently than to the north. Turnips, coleworts, peas and beans were the most important vegetables at Moose and Albany. Carrots, parsnips, cabbages and other vegetables were occasionally planted, but by far the most important were the turnips and coleworts. The latter were grown for both summer and winter use, while the peas and beans were raised entirely for summer use and were eaten green. These were grown

Manitoba Archives

The climate at Moose Factory on James Bay was slightly milder than at Churchill and York, and vegetables reached maturity more frequently. A garden is shown in the foreground of this sketch of Moose Church and Factory, c. 1875.

in the vicinity of the settlements on scattered patches of land that totalled between one and two acres.

The potato appears to have been introduced to Rupert's Land at Albany by Humphrey Marten. The first mention of this valuable tuber is by Andrew Graham who wrote that 'My friend Mr. Marten, Factor at Albany, informs me that he has been successful in regard to potatoes.' Potatoes were planted at Albany at least as early as at Churchill. They were first grown at Moose in 1772 and in later years became the staple garden crop of both these southern settlements. As Andrew Graham observed, however, 'Barley and Oats have been sown several times in the gardens at Albany and Moose Forts, which growed fine and high, but never advanced so far as to fill, because the frosty nights begins so soon in August. Nay! indeed in the latter end of July frosty nights are a great detriment to our gardens.' The only cereal that was grown to maturity on the Bayside was a hardy, dwarf strain of barley from the Orkney Islands, variously known as Bear or Big. It was successfully raised on several occasions at Moose in the early years of the nineteenth century, but the corns or grains yielded were so small that the endeavour was not considered worthwhile.

Despite many attempts, the gardens on Hudson Bay did not have any impact upon the costs of provisioning the Company's settlements. They persisted in this inimical environment because of the contribution which they made to the diet, a contribution which, prior to the use of orange and lime juice as antiscorbutics, was virtually vital to the health of the traders. Despite the vagaries of the harsh climate, moreover, the gardens could in large degree be depended upon in this important role. The frequent failure of various vegetables to mature in the cool summers of the littoral did not render them useless as antiscorbutics, for they still could be eaten as greens. For the same reason, early frosts did not reduce these arctic and subarctic gardens to complete inutility. On the other hand, during seasons when most of the plants matured and yields were relatively large, the surplus vegetables could be stored for use over the long winter. Some, such as turnips or carrots, had to be protected from the frost, but greens such as coleworts were stored in a frozen state. On occasion, moreover, surplus vegetables were made available for ships' crews returning to England, while as early as 1682 Governor John Nixon observed that the vegetables grown at Moose were 'a great refreshing to the men . . . who are neuly come from the sea, being a great many of them seek of the scurvy.' Gardening, then, played an important, if not essential, role in the early English settlement of Rupert's Land, a role that was most emphatically described by the journalist at Churchill when he wrote that: 'Under God I attribute the healthfulness of Your Honours Servants to the produce of our garden.' ◆

THE RUNDLE JOURNALS
1840 — 1848

Edited by Hugh Dempsey with introduction and notes by Gerald M. Hutchinson. Historical Society of Alberta, Calgary, 1977. 414 pp. $12.50

Reviewed by F. Pannekoek

Missionary activity in the pre-1870 West has only recently been the subject of careful analytical scrutiny by the zealous and critical graduate student. Among the best of the graduate explorations have been Jean Friesen's biography of Duncan of Metlakatla, Catherine Pettipas' biography of Henry Budd and Jaye Goosen's careful examination of the Stanley mission. John Foster's work on the country-born of Red River is also a major contribution. In the next few years it is likely that these studies will mature into a long-required monograph on the missions and the missionaries of the pre-1870 West.

While the careful probings of the academics continue, the missionary will remain as he has for the last seventy-five years, the preserve of devoted denominational historians — for the most part clergymen. Much is owed these historians for they have kept alive the heritage of their churches as well as that of western Canada. The Church of England and the Church of Rome have been particularly careful of their past. T. C. B. Boon's *Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies*, the culmination of work originally begun by Canon Bertral Heeney, is the best of the denominational offerings. No single Catholic historian has emerged to replace the prodigious though somewhat sectarian ramblings of Father Morice; by virtue of his work on the northern Oblates, however, Father Gaston Carrière is probably Morice's logical and more dispassionate successor.

The Methodists have not been so fortunate. Although the first generation of western Methodists like John McDougall were aware that they were making history and so told their tale, there have been only furtive signs of life amongst the Methodist historians since. Fortunately, the United Church has Reverend Gerald Hutchinson, who has devoted so many of his years to the study of the Reverend Robert Terrill Rundle, the first Methodist missionary in what is now Alberta. There is no doubt from his introduction to the journals that Rundle, a friend from so many years of loving research, comes out more the hero than the villain. Hutchinson unblushingly admits that he is out to give his friend the good press he deserves and Rundle emerges as a properly flawed romantic folk hero — only a trifle immature with a soupçon of whimsy.

If the introduction is an admirable essay, the documents that follow have been edited by Dempsey with an independence of mind that does his province credit. The organization of the material is certainly less than traditional. All the Rundle writings are arranged chronologically rather than by source. Furthermore some of the writings from different sources have been combined to form a single narrative. Consequently, the collection is more often the editor's than Rundle's. Dempsey and Hutchinson have also decided to delete from the diary many of Rundle's musings as to the exact course of events, so while scholars will no doubt have an easier time reading, this facility is achieved at a considerable price. Unfortunately the Historical Society of Alberta, as publisher, has also decided to employ a new footnoting convention for the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. One citation, simply 'HBC Archives, A10', leaves the careful reader free to pick from thousands of folios. Another rather creative citation is 'H.B.Co. Archives, 63/1/10/12' — rather difficult to find. While perhaps not all edited volumes like *The Rundle Journals* can equal the perfection attained by the Champlain and Hudson's Bay Record Societies, this Rundle edition will be of questionable use to rigorous scholars. Yet for the general public unconcerned with the precision of footnotes and quotations, it is a welcome volume. Rundle has found a friend indeed in Hutchinson and will doubtless find many more amongst his readers.

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FROM DESOLATION TO SPLENDOUR
Changing Perceptions of the British Columbia Landscape

By Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole. Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, Toronto/Vancouver, 1977. $19.95.

Reviewed by Margaret R. Annett

In any other time or place, it would be questionable whether this thesis could support a book: that from the 18th century to date, from Captain Cook's landing to the seascapes of Gordon Smith, the way in which artists have perceived and reacted to British Columbia landscape has changed by 180 degrees — from the view of landscape as awesome and forbidding to one of familiar and exhilarating environment, where the artist feels at one with the landscape, rather than rejected by it.

But because there is a paucity of writing about early art history in Canada — especially western Canada — the book is welcome. In fact, we can even gratefully accept the thesis as a fortunate frame, although perhaps strained from time to time, in which the authors present a retrospective of British Columbian artists.

Tippett and Cole (she a cultural historian and he a teacher of history at Simon Fraser University) are husband and wife. They work well together — the precise, competent historical research is combined with clear perceptive writing about art history that is usually credible.

The text is woven around more than 70 reproductions, including 30 colour plates, not only providing a comprehensive survey of B.C. art, but filling in several gaps that have, until now, been given only passing mention by Canadian art histor-

Water-colour 'Nearing the Glacier' by Charles John Collings from 'From Desolation to Splendour'.

ians: Varley's long tenure in Vancouver, to name just one. In doing so, the text is subject to a certain unevenness — a wealth of material, for example, on the contemporaries of Lucius O'Brien in the 1880s, but a mere mention of Frederick Verner, surely the most neglected talent ever to cross the Rockies.

Since Tippett is an Emily Carr scholar, the essay on Carr and the chapter which follows devoted to Varley, Macdonald, and Weston, are worth the price of admission alone. They are followed by a chapter devoted to the group of painters following 1940, and here the quality of the writing tends toward the sophomoric, almost starry-eyed. One can hardly imagine anything more marginal in interest, in terms of art, than Jack Shadbolt's musings as an undergraduate. Yet the authors pause over the schoolboy enthusiasm of the Victoria group as at one of the Great Moments in Canadian Art. Then the authors recover with an apt and evocative summing up of their thesis as they move toward the epilogue, concluding strongly with the perceptions of Toni Onley and Gordon Smith.

But if the theme seems scant reason to support a major book, it must be remembered that landscape *is* the major fact of life in British Columbia and seems to be an inescapable point of departure for art and therefore a logical preoccupation for a book.

The illusive point that has to be dealt with is the central idea that artists react to landscape on one level, whether they are residents or not — but a different quality enters the work when they have lived long in a loved environment.

Tippett and Cole never profess to define 'B.C. Artist', they simply record those who have come to paint and react to the country, whether they have become resident or not. The position of Barker Fairley, the Toronto critic (whom they quote) is much different. He was critical of the Group of Seven when the Group was engaged in a wholesale discovery of British Columbia. He saw the Group as acting like tourists, and that this was not consistent with the best in art:

> Just when the Group is beginning to know the North better, and to gain mastery of it, off they go West to a country which none of them have in their bones.

Yet in the case of Varley and Macdonald, they stayed on and became, by any definition, British Columbian artists. This additional quality of residence to which Tippett and Cole give little weight, made their work more important as British Columbian art than that of the Seven earlier.

Much of the quality of the book derives from the fact that it has been needed, but that should not detract from its merit. Its best points are the accuracy of its scholarship and the real feeling that arises from areas of specialty, such as Emily Carr.

Art historian Margaret Annett organized the National Gallery's exhibition on the paintings, watercolours and drawings of Frederick Arthur Verner.

ALL OF BABA'S CHILDREN

By Myrna Kostash. Hurtig, Edmonton, 1977. 414 pp. $12.95.

Reviewed by John C. Lehr

'We worked hard, we suffered hard, and we overcame.' This has come to be the liturgy associated with the period of Ukrainian pioneer settlement across the parkland belt of western Canada. As Myrna Kostash points out in *All of Baba's Children*, this liturgy of the pioneer generation is all too modest. Their modesty, combined with a general reticence to tell of the often shabby treatment which they, and their sons and daughters, received from the predominantly Anglo-Canadian establishment, has led to the creation of numerous myths about Ukrainian settlement and their subsequent socio-economic progress in Canada.

Ms Kostash traces the unfolding of Ukrainian history in western Canada from the time of their first arrival in 1892. Her book, however, is not so much about the trials of the pioneers as about the more subtle and perhaps equally severe tribulations of their children who were subjected to the full forces of acculturation and assimilation. They were pressured to embrace an alien English culture in order to fit the Anglophone concept of a 'good Canadian' — one patterned after the English model. Too often assimilation entailed the rejection of their parents' heritage, the inculcation of shame about their ethnicity, and acceptance, albeit reluctant, of a low socio-economic status in the new society.

Living in a democratic society which flaunted ideals of justice and freedom, the Ukrainians were understandably dismayed at the unfair fashion in which they were treated during the First World War. Since most Ukrainian immigrants in Canada originated from an area of the Ukraine which until 1917 was under the control of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, all those who had obtained Canadian citizenship after 1905 were disenfranchised and regarded as potentially dangerous enemy aliens. Even after the war's end these suspicions lingered. The attitude of the Anglophone establishment remained tolerant so long as the Ukrainians were content to remain the hewers of wood and drawers of water. Ukrainian attempts to enter the mainstream of Canadian life were generally unwelcome and agitation for politically engineered social and economic change inevitably evoked cries of 'foreign agitation'. The Ukrainian-Canadians were thus placed in the unenviable position of either 'selling-out' and denying their heritage or remaining as lowly paid labourers and farmers.

This then is the theme of Kostash's well written and timely book. It is a passionate view of Ukrainian-Canadian social and economic history seen through the eyes of the people of Two Hills and district, an area of solid Ukrainian settlement in Alberta. In many ways it is an intensely personal view and therefore cannot be impartial. But Kostash treats her subject with insight, sympathy, and understanding. She is less kind to those who have contributed to the romanticization of what was frequently a brutal struggle for economic survival and social acceptance. In contrast, authors with decided left-wing sympathies are quoted without criticism, even when their statements would seem to warrant more careful evaluation.

Despite this, the treatment of the fragmentation of Ukrainian-Canadian society is admirable. The complexity of what outsiders frequently regard as a monolithic group is bewildering to say the least. Differences of religion and ethnic politics, both of which have their origins in the complex geography of politics and religion in the homeland, are explained clearly. The fear of the right-wing nationalist groups, that Ukrainian-Communists were bent upon a campaign of 'Russification' could be treated more fully and, perhaps, with greater sympathy. For centuries Ukrainians had successfully resisted Polish and Russian influences and the division in Canada between the left and right wing was as much a continuation of the conflict between the Pan-Slavs and the Ukrainian nationalists as it was a struggle between economic ideologies.

Similarly no account of Ukrainian-Canadian religious disputes (between the Greek Catholics and the Greek Orthodox), can overemphasize the impact of Ukrainian fears of Russian domination. It is thus one of the greatest of ironies, as Kostash notes, that at a time when the energies of the Ukrainian nationalists in Canada were directed towards combating the Russophile Communists, their Americanization proceeded apace!

All of Baba's Children will undoubtedly provoke controversy and raise emotions within the Ukrainian-Canadian community. But it is a book with appeal to all Canadians; it will cause many to reappraise their view of Ukrainian-Canadian history. It will give food for thought to many who have embraced the concept of multiculturalism, for it raises basic issues in an unusually frank and perceptive fashion. Informed readers will not subscribe to all of the interpretations advanced but this should not detract from the enjoyment of an engaging and welcome addition to the growing literature about Ukrainians in Canada.

John C. Lehr is a professor with the department of geography, University of Winnipeg.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FIRST 200 YEARS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

We have had many requests for the out-of-print Autumn 1970 Beaver. This issue contains a lively and scholarly summary of the highlights of the Company's first 200 years by Professor Glyndwr Williams.

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STEAM WHALING IN THE WESTERN ARCTIC

By John R. Bockstoce. Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, Mass., 1977. 127 pp. $15.00.

Reviewed by A. Dudley Copland

The author of this fascinating book, John R. Bockstoce, is a dedicated curator of the New Bedford Whaling Museum in Massachusetts. His manuscript and the contributions of William A. Baker and the late Charles Batchelder, make

excellent reading and have the true ring of authenticity. The illustrations of old sailing-ships and steamships will fascinate those who have wondered about life on whaling vessels. The cover picture shows several vessels wintering in one harbour, as was often the case in the bustling, but now deserted harbour on Herschel Island. As many as five hundred men were employed at the peak of the whaling era. Some of the whaling masters were accompanied by their wives and in this book there are reproductions of their beautifully written invitations to friends to attend this or that function.

For many years the American sailing whaling vessels hunted the Bering Sea until the bowhead whale had all but disappeared there. It was discovered later that the summer feeding grounds were much further to the east, almost to Banks Land. It was difficult for a sailing vessel to navigate in the comparatively narrow waters along the arctic coast where the ever-present danger from heavy ice, and the absence of suitable harbours, made whaling a risky undertaking.

When the first American steam whaler was built in 1879 it was recognized that the idea was not new. Whalers operating in the Greenland, Cumberland Gulf or Hudson Bay areas had all been converted to steam by the year 1865. Even before that fears had been expressed by some of the older whaling masters that the vibrations from 'the screw' might drive the whales away. But on the east side of the North American continent there was plenty of 'sea room', excellent harbours and little risk from the heavy ice which constantly threatened the western Arctic whaling fleet.

When the American whalers first ventured north to the Alaskan Coast they encountered not only the problem of moving ice, but great areas of shoal inshore water. Eventually, and perhaps with the aid of power, they pursued the bowhead to as far east as Cape Bathurst and Baillie Island. The industry prospered for approximately thirty years in these areas. Readers who are too young to remember the days when there were no fossil fuels or spring steel, will be amazed at some of the old illustrations of whale oil and baleen processing plants. Hundreds of thousands of pounds of baleen, walrus ivory, and other products such as walrus and white-whale hides, along with millions of gallons of whale oil poured into the harbour of San Francisco, the western home port of many of the steam-whaling vessels.

The remarkable work done in the New Bedford and other whaling museums is lacking here in Canada. Even today there are few Canadians who have ever seen a whaling gun, harpoon, or the baleen that hangs down inside the great mouth of the bowhead whale. In this book they will see excellent examples of these weapons and pictures of the workmen who developed them.

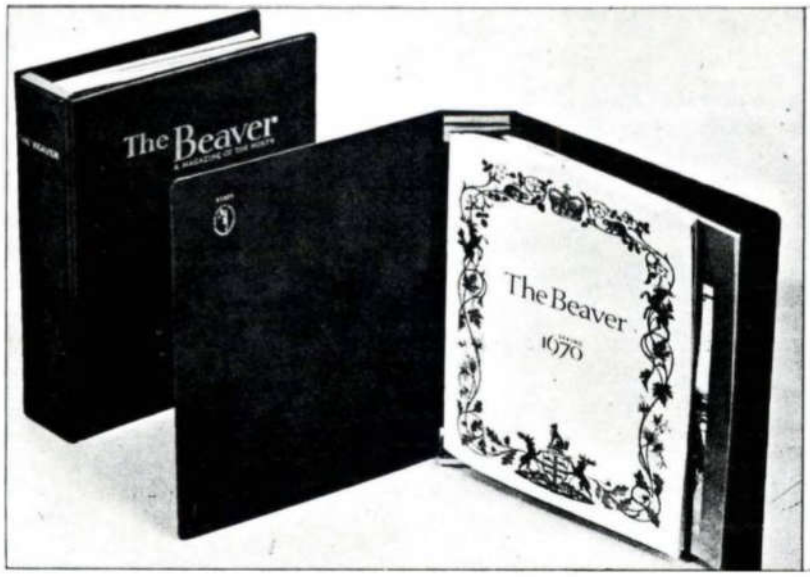
Accompanying the many excellent photographs and paintings of these fine old ships are ship biographies by John R. Bockstoce. One interesting model shows the ingenious manner in which a vessel's propeller could be protected from ice damage.

The late Charles Batchelder has compiled a chronological list of commercial wintering voyages, dating from 1850 to 1910, giving the names of ships, their type and masters, where they wintered and their home ports. Many of the names of these vessels are still in common use in the Canadian western Arctic: *Teddy Bear, North Star* and *Karluk*.

Steam Whaling in the Western Arctic is an extremely valuable contribution to the maritime history of the great ships of New Bedford. Although whale fishing on the east coast of North America was extensive, it was not pursued with the same intensity. The existing chronological lists from the east might well be brought up to date by this extremely knowledgeable author.

There are 127 pages and numerous photographs and anyone who has any interest whatsoever in the great whaling industry should have a copy.

A. Dudley Copland has a particular interest in whaling, having been born in the old whaling town of Peterhead, Scotland. He served the H B C in all parts of the Arctic, East, Central and Western. He has written extensively on the North.



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